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Conference on Chemical Weapons Opens in Paris

Shevardnadze, Delegation Arrive

LD0601173889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1718 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Paris 6 Jan (TASS)—A Soviet delegation led by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, arrived here today. The delegation will take part in the work of the International Conference on Chemical Weapons, which opens tomorrow.

Ya. P.Ryabov, USSR ambassador to France, and other officials met the delegation at Paris' Orly Airport.

Mitterrand Opens Conference

LD0701103889 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 7 TASS—By TASS correspondents Yuriy Lopatin and Nikita Yermakov:

An International Conference on Chemical Weapons opened in the UNESCO palace here today. Delegations from about 140 countries are attending. The Soviet Union is represented by the delegation headed by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR.

The present forum, which will last until January 11, is the most representative ever to be convened on chemical weapons. It should above all reinforce the Geneva protocol on the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of bacteriological methods of warfare of June 17, 1925. The Soviet Union was one of the first to ratify it back in 1928. This document has played for many decades and continues to play until today an important role in preventing a chemical war.

The Geneva protocol, however, does not ban the production and stockpiling of warfare poisonous substances, does not stipulate the elimination of their stockpiles and the destruction of the industrial base for preparing a chemical war. Therefore, the Paris conference should impart a political impetus to the elaboration of a convention on banning all chemical weapons, which is being worked out at the disarmament conference in Geneva.

The Soviet Union favours the earliest conclusions of the convention, the clearing of the hurdles here and is ready to look for mutually acceptable solutions to questions of ensuring effective verification of compliance with the agreement. The existing problems can be solved. A political will, constructive approach and mutual trust are all which is needed for this.

The conference was opened by French President Francois Mitterrand.

Shultz, Andreotti, Uno Speak

LD0801123489 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 8 TASS—TASS correspondents Nikita Yermakov and Yuriy Lopatin report:

A general discussion started at the International Conference on Chemical Weapons which is underway at the UNESCO palace here. Delegates from 146 countries of all the continents are discussing problems connected with the quest for ways towards a complete elimination of chemical weapons.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz pointed to the need for banning chemical and bacteriological weapons as soon as possible and dwelt on the danger of terrorists getting hold of those weapons. He said the purpose of the Geneva talks is to achieve the banning of the production, purchasing, stockpiling and transfer of chemical weapons. There are difficulties on this way connected, in the first place, with control over the observance of those bans. However, they should be removed to ensure the early attaining of the set goal. Shultz emphasized that the countries that had not signed the 1925 Geneva protocol so far should join it. He spoke as well about the nonproliferation of chemical weapons. Specifically, he urged to take measures for curbing the export of technology for their production.

The Italian Government supports the general disarmament idea whose component part is the desire to fully eliminate chemical weapons on the earth, said Giulio Andreotti, Italian foreign minister. Perceptible headway was made in this sphere recently: After signing the INF Treaty, the Soviet Union and the United States are eliminating a whole class of nuclear weapons, while the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treatry member states are ready to start a dialogue on the setting of balance in conventional weapons in Europe on the lowest possible level. Touching upon the working out of a convention on a complete chemical weapons ban, Andreotti pointed out that the difficulties existing in this sphere could be overcome provided the sides display political will and confidence in each other. The head of the Italian delegation urged all the countries to observe the 1925 Geneva protocol.

Sosuke Uno, Japanese foreign minister, said that the Conference on Chemical Weapons should, in the first place, reaffirm commitments assumed by signatories to the Geneva protocol and urge the rest of the countries to sign it. In his opinion, it is necessary to complete as soon as possible the working out of a convention which would make impossible not only the use, but also the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. He favoured the expansion of the U.N. authority in investigating all cases when toxic agents are suspected to be used in warfare. He emphasised that talks on this issue had entered a final stage, and the attaining of the goal was close at hand.

The signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty showed that the presence of political will makes disarmament prospects look realistic, Tadeusz Olechowski, Polish foreign minister, said. Proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev at the U.N. General Assembly session create unprecedented opportunities for making a turn towards the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe, for chemical disarmament. The Paris conference can give a strong political impetus to the working out of a convention on chemical weapons ban. There exist conditions for the quest for solutions in this sphere and for the overcoming of difficulties, because the world community expresses the desire to do away with this type of armaments, he emphasised.

The conference was also addressed by the heads of delegations from Brazil, the Vatican, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and a number of other countries.

PRC, Other Delegates Speak

LD0801220189 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 9 TASS—TASS correspondents Yuriy Lopatin, Nikita Yermakov and Aleksandr Krivykh report:

An International Conference on Chemical Weapons continued in UNESCO palace in Paris. A general debate was in progress.

India fully supports the aims of this forum which is to confirm the 1925 Geneva protocol on banning the use of chemical weapons and to give a political impetus to talks held in Geneva in the framework of the conference on disarmament and to promote an early signing of a convention envisaging the ban on the production, development, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons, said India's Minister of State for External Affairs Natwar Singh. Successful conclusion of this work will not just eliminate an entire category of weapons of mass destruction but will also give an impetus to negotiations on disarmament, specifically in the area of the reduction of nuclear arsenals, ending of nuclear testing, prevention of the race in space arms, he said. The Geneva conference has now entered the decisive stage, but a number of questions remain outstanding. First of all the problem of ensuring verification of non-production of chemical weapons and the order of conducting inspections. The minister said that the conclusion of the convention should not impede the development of the chemical industry for civilian purposes. He is of the opinion that the main question is not so much the effort for non-proliferation of chemical weapons, as their complete elimination. India does not intend either to purchase or to produce such weapons, he said.

The conclusion of an international convention is the most effective way of the elimination of chemical weapons and of ridding humanity of the threat of war with the use of chemical weapons, said China's Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. For this purpose the PRC proposes first of all to confirm the validity of the 1925 Geneva protocol and to urge the states that have not yet signed it to become signatories to that document. It is also necessary to speed up the negotiations at the Geneva conference on disarmament to work out the convention banning chemical weapons which would include measures for effective verification of the observance of its provisions. The Chinese minister is of the opinion that countries having the biggest arsenals of chemical weapons should be the first to assume the obligation to terminate their development, production and dissemination, pledge themselves not to use them and to destroy their stockpiles. He urged countries capable of developing such weapons to refrain from their production.

Egypt's Deputy Prime-Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmad Ismat 'Abd al-Majid said that the Parisian conference attests to broad interest in the problem of the destruction of chemical weapons whose existence poses a threat to entire humanity. Political will of all countries aimed at overcoming obstacles in the way of the conclusion of the appropriate convention is the decisive factor in the elimination of chemical weapons, he said. In Egypt's opinion the endorsement of this document should be preceded by consultations in which all the countries concerned would participate. He emphasised the need for creating a mechanism of sanctions for the violation of the convention's provisions and linked the progress in the elimination of chemical weapons with nuclear disarmament.

Representatives of Canada, Austria, Algeria, Morocco and other countries also spoke at the conference on Sunday.

Shevardnadze Addresses Conference

PM0901084589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Speech by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the International Conference on Chemical Weapons in Paris on 8 January: "Doing Away With Chemical Weapons Once and For All"]

[Text] Our conference constitutes a link, uniting times and generations. The generation that lived through World War I and the first gas attacks empowered its representatives to put an end to the use of chemical weapons. Hence an outstanding document appeared—the Geneva protocol of 1925, the authors of which were able to rise above the norms of their time and overcome the conceptions of strength and victory which held sway during that time.

This was the first time in the history of humanity that, horrified by the absolute inhumanity of a category of weapons, people introduced a general ban on their use.

We bow low to them and are grateful for this.

You and I, and our generation, have to do more—we have to entirely exclude chemicals as a means of war, and as a military source of death and threat to people's health from the practice of global human society. For there is no better way to halt the use of any kind of weapon than to fully eliminate it.

We must make the individual case general, the isolated instance a mass instance, the chance occurrence a regular occurrence, and the thing of the moment a constant thing. We must make it an eternal and stable norm of our existence on earth.

We will do this.

We will do this because even today we already have experience in eliminating mass destruction weapons and in the comprehensive verification of that great procedure.

This is because even today, literally, just a few steps and gestures separate us from the conclusion of a historic convention on the prohibition and complete elimination of chemical weapons; because 1988 handed world affairs over to the new year of 1989 in such a state that it would be an unforgivable mistake not to use it for deepening the positive tendency in the times that have now come about.

In light of this, the new international relations based on universal consensus, which Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about in his speech at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, are emerging as the reality of the day.

In light of this, our conference is at one and the same time the result of the advances being made and an instrument of developing the new dynamism in international affairs, their new climate, and new atmosphere.

These should be protected once and for all from the poisonous contamination of toxic military substances. The world's political ecology is unequivocally categorical on this subject, and we are convinced our conference will stand witness to this position with all the authority of the states represented at the present forum. May the goodwill expressed here be seen as a mandate for concluding and signing a convention to ban chemical weapons completely in the near future.

We have come so close to the desired finishing line that we cannot turn away from our objective now. We are all capable of removing the last remaining obstacles on the road to it by exerting that goodwill.

The goodwill is total, and each country has already made its contribution to it. The Soviet Union has also done so. Our position has in the last 2 years undergone a fundamental evolution: from production of chemical weapons to the total rejection of their production; from keeping quiet the figures for existing stocks to publishing the relevant data; from trying to shield enterprises and storehouses from outsiders' eyes to acknowledging the concept of comprehensive verification and inviting foreign observers to the processes of eliminating chemical weapons.

If we are told that we were late in stopping their production, that we were late in taking other repressive measures against them, we will say: Yes, this is so, we really were late. However, having made the political decision, having made the choice, we are pursuing it without deviation, quickly making up for omissions in past years, going out onto an unprecedented level of openness.

Openness is an indicator of the sincerity of a country's intentions to keep pace with the world community.

Openness is a basic precondition for a realistic process of disarmament subject to verification.

Openness is the child of restructuring, of our internal restructuring, and of our efforts to adapt international relations to the radically changed conditions of world social development.

Openness is the norm and rule of contemporary international reality.

We have opened our factories and test sites in order to show, acting in accordance with this norm and rule, how intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are being destroyed. We have, however, opened more than arsenals and test sites to the world—our soul, our pain, and it is with gratitude that we accept from the world its aid to heal the wounds of Armenia.

Openness is the guarantee and condition for the most rapid overcoming of the adversities and burdens that have been inherited from the past.

Can we now, in the knowledge of all this, not spread openness to the same degree over all military chemical production, which has, like the pathological secretiveness, also been inherited from the past?

As we look through it and cast a great deal out, we expect the same of others too. Openness, like any other condition, must be mutual. Concluding a convention depends not only on the Soviet Union—there is another power too that has just as sizeable reserves of chemical weapons, and it could make, on an equal basis with us, compromise decisions in the interests of establishing universal global control [kontrol].

We call on all—whether that be states which produce chemical weapons or countries which have renewed production of them or intend to create them—to display responsibility before the world community, to call a halt, and thereby promote the conclusion of a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons.

As for the Soviet Union, we will complete in the near future the construction of an installation for the destruction of chemical weapons, and we will immediately proceed at that installation with the elimination of the chemical weapons stocks which we possess. And we will begin to do this even before the conclusion of the convention.

At the same time, the Soviet Union declares its intention to become an initial participant to the convention and calls on other states to do the same.

Having taken the path of chemical disarmament, our country has a vital interest in seeing the observance of a ban on chemical weapons and the elimination of stockpiles of them, as envisaged by the convention, implemented under effective international supervision [kontrol].

The convention must include a provision for inspection on demand [inspektsiya po zaprosu] of any site or facility in the shortest time and without right of refusal. We accept the idea of an "open invitation to inspect," on the understanding that the inspectors will have access to all sites and facilities subject to verification without restriction, except residential buildings.

When our permanent facility for the destruction of chemical weapons comes into operation, we shall invite representatives of interested countries to visit it. We also plan to hold a seminar in order to exchange experience on the destruction of chemical weapons.

The Soviet Union has proposed that an international experiment be carried out, without waiting until the convention is signed, to test procedures for verifying [kontrol] the nonproduction of chemical weapons.

Our experts recently completed test inspections at an enterprise producing key precursors [prekursory], and they will present a report in the near future. After this, their foreign colleagues will be offered an opportunity to visit this enterprise and check the conclusions of a joint analysis of the test inspection results in various countries. We are undertaking all this in order to finally satisfy ourselves of the possibility, efficiency, and sufficiency of the measures of verification envisaged in the future convention.

From this high rostrum, I would like to state on behalf of the leadership of my country that the Soviet Union:

—while possessing chemical weapons, has never used them, even in its most tragic moments;

—is not producing chemical weapons;

—does not have chemical weapons beyond its national territory;

—proceeding from its principled attitude toward chemical weapons, has never transferred them to any other state;

—has declared the extent of its stocks of such weapons;

—will begin, in the current year of 1989, the elimination of the stocks at an installation especially constructed for this purpose.

The Soviet Union advocates the most stringent international verification, including on-site inspections without any right of refusal, and is ready to do everything possible and necessary for the conclusion of a convention in 1989.

The Soviet Union believes that particular importance should be given to the nonproliferation of chemical weapons. In line with this goal are steps to remove the chemical threat, which can be undertaken on the basis of coordinated measures by the states of individual regions. Therefore, we support the proposals of the GDR and Czechoslovakia, and of Bulgaria and Romania, on establishing chemical weapons-free zones in central Europe and the Balkans respectively.

We call on countries not participating in the Geneva protocol to join it, and on participants not to allow it to be eroded, as this undermines the moral and political intolerance of chemical weapons, which to this day reliably holds in check the use of this most barbaric means of mass destruction.

In solemnly confirming its Geneva protocol commitments, the Soviet Union will strictly observe the ban on the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons laid down in this document. It is prepared to continue taking part in strengthening the conditions laid down by this protocol.

We support the idea of investigations by the UN secretary general into cases of the use of chemical weapons, no matter where. In our view no one should have the right to refuse the holding of such investigations on his territory.

In time this function could be performed by an international verification agency, which, as we have proposed, would operate under UN auspices.

The procedures of a disarmament conference allow any state to make its contribution to drawing up a convention for the total banning and elimination of chemical weapons.

Each state can do this via the channels of democratic discussion, customary in the UN General Assembly.

We propose that a session of the disarmament conference be convened at foreign ministerial level in order to finalize the convention at the concluding stage of its preparation.

Ladies and gentlemen!

We have much cause to be grateful to France, which has graciously received and splendidly organized our conference in its beautiful capital city. The time and place in which it has been held—Paris, 1989, on the eve of the 200th anniversary of the great French revolution—says much to us through the wide associations which it evokes. It speaks to us of the victory of enlightened reason over the forces of darkness; of the triumph of the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity. But—to borrow the words of President Mitterrand—it also reminds us of the Bastilles that have yet to be taken.

Chemical weapons are one of them. Allow me to express confidence that in 1989, following our common resolute storming, that fortress will at last be taken.

Shultz Comments on Conference

LD0801183789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1708 GMT 8 Jan 88

[Text] Paris, 8 Jan (TASS)—George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, answered today the following questions from TASS, PRAVDA, and IZVESTIYA correspondents.

Question: Mr Secretary of State, what is your view of the work of the International Conference on Chemical Weapons currently under way in Paris and the Soviet Union's position?

Answer: The conference reflects the concern of both the Soviet Union and the United States over the problem of chemical weapons and their spread. Mr Shevardnadze and I have exchanged our views of that subject more than once. I listened very carefully to his speech and think that he made a very constructive statement. The Soviet minister told me that he had read very carefully my speech too. I believe that chemical disarmament is an area in which, like in many other ones, we have opportunities for working together in order to achieve results which will be really valuable for both countries.

Question: What are the basic obstacles on the path to chemical disarmament?

Answer: The hardest thing here is to work out a detailed verification [proverka] procedure of the fulfillment of the agreement that is reached. In principle we have approved its basic clauses and have stressed with particular force the necessity for snap [vneznapnyy], on-the-spot inspections. I cannot say precisely how all this will look, but we have accumulated enough experience in the course of talks on intermediate-range missiles. Now we understand how carefully the details of an agreement have to be worked out, but we also know that it is possible to achieve this.

Question: Is there a link between chemical and nuclear disarmament?

Answer: Chemical disarmament must be implemented. We have started a process of reducing nuclear arsenals and we support a system of nonproliferation of nuclear arms, which demands further efforts. We hope for progress in the area of chemical disarmament as well, but this must be an independent process.

Bogachev Assesses Paris Talks

LD0601172689 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—By TASS military commentator Vladimir Bogachev:

The Paris international conference to strengthen the 1925 Geneva protocol regime, which is to open on January 7, has every chance to become an important landmark on the road to copmplete chemical disarmament.

The Geneva protocol of 1925 is actually the first international agreement, banning the combat use of one class of mass annihilation weapons which, moreover, is most insidious and repulsing. It comprises "asphyxiating, toxic or other similar gases and means of bacteriological warfare". The protocol has played and continues to play an important role in preventing chemical war.

This agreement, signed by 118 countries, does not ban, however, the production and stockpiling of toxic agents, does not provide for the liquidation of chemical arsenals, destruction of industrial facilities contributing to the preparation of a chemical war. Various international forums on chemical disarmament have tackled these problems for many decades. Today, representatives of forty countries, taking part in the Geneva disarmament conference, are drawing up a convention for the complex prohibition of chemical weapons.

It was predicted that the convention would be signed in 1987, then in 1988... Alas, this did not happen. The key reason was that several Western powers did not wish to seek mutually acceptable ways to ensure effective verification of the agreement's implementation. The United States, for instance, is trying to place beyond control all the private and non-governmental chemical enterprises, through they now account for a lion's share of toxic warfare agents manufactured in the United States.

The control problem was greatly complicated by binary chemical weapons production, started in the United States. Used in them are non-toxic components, which intermix producing a nerve gas when a shell or bomb

whizz towards the target. Separate components of binary weapons can be manufactured today at enterprises turning out peaceful products, pesticides, for instance. It is extremely difficult to control the military use of such production.

The Soviet Union is prepared to accept any verification versions and procedures in order to accelerate the adoption of a convention banning chemical weapons. In April 1987 the Soviet Union stopped the production of toxic warfare agents, disclosed its stockpiles, declared that no Soviet chemical weapons were transferred to other countries and that they were not deployed in foreign territories. The Soviet side offered to exchange information which would facilitate the solution of many disputed issues. It also started preparations to destroy its chemical weapons. The American side has still not reacted positively to these initiatives of the Soviet Union. It even refused to disclose, as a start, its stockpiles of toxic warfare agents.

It is difficult, of course, to expect that the five-day Paris conference wil be able to resolve problems which the Geneva conference could not cope with for many years. Nevertheless, it could arrive at several important agreements. The Geneva protocol regime could be reinforced by a commitment of all the signatory states to do away with chemical weapons stockpiles within a period of ten years. There is a concrete possibility to draw up effective measures guaranteeing this agreement's strict observance. This could be done with the participation of the United Nations, too. America's accession to the Soviet commitment not to produce chemical weapons, including binary armaments, would be a substantial step towards the conclusion of a convention on chemical weapons.

The peoples of the world pin great hopes on the Paris international conference. All the nations taking part in it must display maximum goodwill not to deceive their expectations.

Karpov Interviewed on Disarmament Initiatives

AU0401172789 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Viktor Karpov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, by NOVOSTI commentator Vladimir Markov: "Building a New Foundation for Security"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The new Soviet disarmament initiatives, including the unilateral steps to reduce armed forces and weaponry in Europe and Asia announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in New York, have created a new political context for the continuation of the disarmament process, Viktor Karpov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, declared in an interview with NOVOSTI correspondent Vladimir Markov. The upcoming withdrawal of six tank divisions and offensive systems from Eastern Europe and the reduction in the number of troops by 500,000 men—which represents approximately 10 percent of the aggregate number of Soviet troops—demonstrate that the restructuring of the USSR Armed Forces on the basis of a defensive military doctrine has started, Viktor Karpov said.

[Markov] What measures are being taken to complete the unilateral withdrawal within the announced time frame—the years 1989-90?

[Karpov] We are now in the process of drawing up timetables for the disbandment of the relevant units, including those that will be withdrawn from Eastern Europe and Mongolia. The disbandment of these units will bring with it, on the one hand, a reduction in the number of conscripts drafted into military service and, on the other, an increase in the number of soldiers released into reserve duty. The sequence and the deadlines for the reorganization of divisions that will remain on the territories of the fraternal European countries and that will be furnished with a new defensive structure are also being fixed.

[Markov] In which ways will the Western states and the world public be able to convince themselves of the actual implementation of the unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops and weaponry?

[Karpov] All measures connected with this withdrawal will be taken in the conditions of maximal openness and glasnost. Deadlines will be announced, and foreign observers will also be invited.

[Markov] How is the liquidation of the weaponry that is subject to reduction, including tanks, to be carried out?

[Karpov] We consider it expedient to make use of elements of the weapons to be liquidated in the national economy. The tanks' diesel installations, for instance, can be used in electricity generators, and their engines can be used for industrial cranes and other heavy mechanisms of peaceful use. The use of the launching installations of the SS-20 missiles, which are being converted into high-tonnage cranes in Odessa with the help of a West German firm, can serve as an example in this regard. Incidentally, the destruction of Soviet missiles under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles yielded an economic benefit of R300 million in the year 1988 alone.

[Markov] Aside from generally positive reactions to the new Soviet disarmament initiatives, there are also some NATO politicians who would like to lessen their significance with references to the continuing superiority of the Soviet Union in conventional forces and weaponry....

[Karpov] The question of the mutual correlation of forces in various categories of weaponry and armed forces will be thoroughly assessed at the relevant talks,

which, as we hope, will start now in January. To show the extent and significance of the announced reduction in Soviet troops by 500,000 men, it suffices to mention that this figure is roughly equivalent to the total number of soldiers of the West German Bundeswehr. The reduction by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft was fixed with a view to allaying Western fears of the relatively offensive character of Soviet Armed Forces. Not only the quantitative, but also the qualitative specifications of this reduction are unprecedented; everything is aimed at giving Soviet troops a consistently defensive character.

[Markov] The last session of the NATO Council in Brussels adopted a declaration on arms control. It is being advertised as a reply of sorts to the Soviet initiatives and, at the same time, as the position which the West intends to hold at future negotiations. How do you view the content of this declaration?

[Karpov] The main drawback of the declaration is that it ignores those asymmetries in weaponry that are in NATO's favor. In other words, the document does not foresee the reciprocal elimination of asymmetries on both sides and therefore cannot serve as a basis for future negotiations. Even before these talks open, the NATO states should ponder their position so that it encompasses all constituent parts of the subject of negotiations and so that it can lead to mutually acceptable solutions. Although the Soviet side does not link its unilateral reduction with the talks based on the mandate of the Vienna follow-up meeting, we hope that the NATO states will respond to the Soviet steps with positive deeds. We do not require this as a condition for the implementation of our measures, but we would welcome it if the West took the path of reduction with respect to those types of weapons, in which the NATO pact has a preponderance.

[Markov] Reports coming from Washington suggest that in mid-February the new American administration will be ready for another round of talks on strategic and space weapons in Geneva. What is the Soviet position in this regard?

[Karpov] We would prefer an earlier resumption of talks. At any rate, we want to resume the talks as soon as the American side is ready. A solid basis already exists as far as the treaty on a 50-percent cut in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive weapons is concerned. Work on the draft texts of the treaty itself, of the concomitant protocols, and of the memorandum on initial data is already in progress. We believe on the basis of all this that the treaty could be signed this year, that is, in 1989. Parallel progress on the road to a 50-percent cut in Soviet and American strategic offensive weapons and on the road to a reduction in conventional forces and weaponry would create a new foundation for security in Europe and on a global scale.

Shevardnadze Comments on U.S.-Libyan Incident

LD0601202589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1935 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 6 Jan (TASS)—On arrival in the French capital to take part in the International Conference on Chemical Weapons, E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR foreign minister, and head of the Soviet delegation, made a brief statement to press representatives.

I believe, he said, that the Paris conference is a very important event in the political life of the world community. We hope that it will be held in a businesslike atmosphere and become an important landmark on the path to achieving major successes, considerable results in the cause of strengthening the Geneva protocol, and a ban on chemical weapons.

In reply to the journalists' questions, E.A. Shevardnadze noted that there are already good chances for signing a convention on banning chemical weapons. Our generation, he stressed, does not have the right to miss such a historic chance for attaining this document this year. Political figures, diplomats, and the peoples of the world must not let this chance slip by.

The USSR foreign minister informed them that the Mediterranean situation will be discussed during a planned meeting in Paris with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. I have in mind the very unpleasant incident connected with the Libyan aircraft, he noted. I must tell you honestly that this is air paracy. In our times we must not allow such things to occur. I do not rule out the possibility that this incident will to a considerable degree poison the atmosphere before the Paris conference and before the end of the Vienna meeting. As for the construction of the plant in Libya, the accusation that Libya intends to produce chemical weapons at this plant, I think, is a serious accusation which needs to be proved. The main task is to prevent any further complication of the situation in the Mediterranean area.

Shevardnadze Meets With Counterparts in Paris

Discusses Visit With PRC's Qian

LD0801175889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1715 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 8 Jan (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, had a meeting with PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen today. During their conversation the ministers exchanged opinions in a constructive and businesslike spirit on a number of issues of mutual interest, particularly those concerning the agenda of the conference taking place in Paris, from the viewpoint of the importance of the task of a total ban on chemical weapons. The sides discussed regional problems and the Cambodian problem in particular.

There was a discussion of progress in preparations for the official visit to the PRC by the USSR foreign minister, which is viewed by both sides as an important stage in the preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. Accord was reached for E.A. Shevardnadze to visit China at the beginning of February.

Talks With Shultz

LD0801174689 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 8 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, who takes part in an International Conference on Chemical Weapons met with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz here today.

Problems related to the subjects of the Parisian conference were discussed during a substantive conversation. In this connection the sides pointed to the need for an early conclusion of the work on a convention to ban chemical weapons and its coming into effect.

The sides noted with satisfaction the progress on the road toward an early conclusion of the Vienna meeting and expressed the hope that talks on confidence-building measures and on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe will be started shortly.

During the exchange of opinions on Soviet-American relations, the sides assessed their state and expressed the conviction that as a result of the Soviet-American summit meetings, the conclusion and continued implementation of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, progress at the talks on questions of arms limitation and disarmament and at other negotiations, the relations between the USSR and the USA improved substantially and there are opportunities for their further development in the mainstream of constructive continuity.

The Soviet side expressed the hope that a vigorous Soviet-American political dialogue will be continued without lengthy pauses at every level, bearing in mind that the existing mechanism of this dialogue has already proved its value and can be used successfully further.

When regional problems were discussed, attention was given to the situation relating to Afghanistan, to the situation in South Africa and in other areas.

During the conversation there was an in-depth exchange of opinions on human rights, on questions of bilateral relations.

Eduard Shevardnadze expressed profound gratitude to the president, the vice-president and the secretary of state of the USA, to the entire American leadership for

assistance in eliminating the consequences of the Armenian earthquake. Possibilities of pooling efforts of the two countries in predicting such natural disasters were also touched upon.

Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz signed an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in basic scientific research and a memorandum of understanding in cooperation in combatting the illegal narcotics trafficking.

Views Vienna Talks With Genscher

LD0701191489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1829 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 7 Jan (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, had a conversation here today with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, federal vice chancellor and FRG foreign minister.

The ministers thoroughly discussed the main aspects of bilateral relations in the context of preparations for the official visit to the FRG by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The growing mutual understanding and trust in relations between the USSR and the FRG were noted. E.A. Shevardnadze expressed sincere gratitude to the FRG Government for the comprehensive assistance given to the people of Armenia affected by the earthquake.

The implementation of the accords reached during Chancellor H. Kohl's visit to the USSR, including the preparation of a joint political document, and other questions of bilateral practical cooperation, were discussed. The ministers called for the vigorous continuation of this work.

Attention was drawn by the Soviet side to the ideas and proposals advanced by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations on the readjustment of international relations on the principles of new political thinking. The interlocutors agreed that these ideas represent an important impetus for the improvement of East-West relations.

In connection with the discussion of problems of European security and disarmament, primary attention was attached to matters of the Vienna meeting. The sides noted the positive influence which the USSR's decision on a unilateral reduction in its Armed Forces has had on the course of this meeting and the upcoming talks on conventional armaments in Europe. They were unanimous that all the necessary preconditions exist for ending the meeting in the most immediate future with weighty and well-balanced political results. E.A. Shevardnadze stressed that implementation of the plans for modernization of tactical nuclear devices in Europe would have an adverse effect on the overall political situation and on efforts to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe.

More on Genscher Meeting

LD0701154189 Hamburg DPA in German 1508 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Paris (DPA)—Schedules for visits by the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev were the main focus of a detailed working meeting which took place in Paris on Saturday when the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received FRG Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the residence of the Soviet ambassador. The two ministers were also due to go over the outlines of a joint German- Soviet declaration, which is due to be published during the spring visit [by Gorbachev] to Bonn.

The declaration is to set out the two sides' political aims, Genscher announced. The federal foreign minister had already underlined the crucial role of German-Soviet relations in the development of European peace after his talks with Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev in Wiesbaden on Thursday. [passage omitted]

Discusses Ties With France' Dumas

LD0801102689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0945 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 8 Jan (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, today met Roland Dumas, minister of state and French minister of foreign affairs.

The two ministers noted with satisfaction the successful start of the Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons and spoke in favor of its becoming a powerful political boost to achieving the objective of a full and universal ban on this type of mass destruction weapon.

The ministers paid particular attention to preparations for the visit in the first half of this year to France of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, discussing this in connection with the most promising directions of cooperation between the two countries.

The ministers unanimously favored a most rapid conclusion of the Vienna meeting and the start in its wake of talks on confidence-building measures and reductions in armed forces and armaments in Europe, as well as all-European forums.

Several aspects of the search for means of settling regional conflicts, above all in Afghanistan and Cambodia, were touched upon.

Satisfaction was expressed at the fact that the meeting corresponds to the accord on more frequent contacts between the ministers of foreign affairs of France and the USSR, which was reached during a conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and President F. Mitterrand in Moscow in November 1988.

E.A. Shevardnadze asked for sincere thanks from the Soviet leadership to be conveyed to the president, the government, and the people of France for their solidarity and assistance in eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia.

Holds Talks With Andreotti

LD0701154589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1448 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 7 Jan (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, who is in Paris to attend the International Conference on Chemical Weapons, met today with Italy's Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti.

After assessing the development of the international situation in 1988, the two ministers expressed the hope that the new year will continue the race and that it will be marked by steps forward in various foreign policy spheres.

They exchanged views on a number of topical international problems associated with the conference now under way in Paris. Special attention was paid to the themes of strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe, primarily questions concerning the successful completion of the Vienna meeting of 35 states-participants in the Helsinki process, which opens up a path for the start of talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe. Shevardnadze noted with satisfaction that the difficulties on the path to a Moscow conference on humanitarian issues have been lifted.

Great attention was paid to the problem of regional conflicts. The two sides welcomed the start of direct contacts between the United States and the PLO. G. Andreotti was informed about the course of the talks between Yuliy Vorontsov and Afghan opposition leaders.

The two ministers discussed the situation that has developed over the last few days concerning Libya. The Soviet side expressed anxiety in connection with U.S. threatening statements and actions; a hope of easing the tension was voiced.

E. Shevardnadze and G. Andreotti informed each other about the work being carried out correspondingly both in the Soviet Union and in Italy on the implementation of the agreements reached in the course of the Soviet-Italian summit meeting in Moscow in October 1988.

The Soviet side expressed gratitude for Italian assistance in eliminating the consequences of natural disaster—the earthquake in Armenia.

Meets With Austria's Mock

LD0701190489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1807 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 7 Jan (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met today with Alois Mock, Austrian vice chancellor and foreign minister.

During the conversation, matters were discussed pertaining to the state of and prospects for development of Soviet-Austrian relations, and likewise certain topical problems of international life of mutual interest. The Soviet minister reacted with interest to the ideas expressed by A. Mock during the conversation with respect to his country's deep commitment to the principles of permanent neutrality.

The ministers confirmed a mutual desire to continue developing and strengthening Soviet-Austrian relations on a basis of the agreements reached as a result of the recent meetings and mutual visits of the Soviet and Austrian leaders.

Both sides expressed the hope that the conference in Paris will give positive momentum to hastening the conclusion of a convention on prohibition and elimination of chemical armaments.

Having examined the situation at the Vienna CSCE meeting, the ministers called for it to be completed in the next few days, for which, in their opinion, real preconditions exist.

E. Shevardnadze expressed genuine gratitude to the government and people of Austria for their involvement and aid in connection with the natural disaster which struck Armenia.

Meets Japan's Uno

LD0801192989 Moscow TASS international Service in Russian 1850 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 8 Jan (TASS) E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister, today met Japanese Foreign Minister S. Uno, who is here for the conference on chemical weapons.

They exchanged views, in particular, on the implementation of accords reached in the course of the USSR foreign minister's visit to Japan in December 1988.

The sides agreed that the Japanese foreign minister would pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in the first half of May 1989. It has been also agreed that at the end of this March in Tokyo regular consultations of deputy foreign ministers of the USSR and Japan and a session of the permanent working group on a peace treaty between the two countries will be held.

E.A. Shevardnadze expressed condolences in connection with the death of Japanese Emperor Hirohito.

Meets Pact, Other Ministers

LD0601224789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1940 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 6 January (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member Eduard Shevardnadze has had a meeting with foreign ministers and heads of delegations of socialist and other friendly states who have come here for the International Conference on Chemical Weapons. Eduard Shevardnadze leads the Soviet delegation to the conference.

Taking part in the meeting were the foreign ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Petur Mladenov; of the Hungarian People's Republic, Peter Varkonyi; of the GDR, Oskar Fischer; of the PPR, Tadeusz Olechowski; of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Ioan Totu; of the CSSR, Jaromir Johanes; of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali; of the Republic of Afghanistan, 'Abdul Wakil; and likewise the heads of the delegations from Cuba, the SRV, the DPRK, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, Mozambique, and Ethiopia.

Meets With SFRY's Loncar

LD0901121189 Moscow TASS in English 1203 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 9 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, met with Budimir Loncar, Yugoslavia's federal secretary for foreign affairs, in Paris on Monday.

The conversation passed in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere. The sides assessed favourably the dynamic development of traditional friendship and all-round cooperation between the two countries in the spirit of the Soviet-Yugoslavian declaration adopted during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia.

The sides had a detailed exchange of views on urgent international issues, including the matters being discussed at the Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons, and the activities of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Shevardnadze thanked the people and Government of Yugoslavia for their sympathy and aid to quake-stricken Soviet Armenia. He also expressed condolences on the death of Yugoslavian citizens who hurried to Armenia's rescue.

Meets With Israel's Arens

LD0801143889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 8 Jan (TASS)—Today E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, had a meeting here with Moshe Arens, Israeli foreign minister, at the latter's request.

As during previous Soviet-Israeli meetings, main attention focused on the state of affairs in the Near East. The sides set out their aproaches on this issue.

The Soviet Union, stressed E.A. Shevardnadze, is firmly convinced that the only way of ensuring security for all Near Eastern states without exception lies in a political dialogue, establishing measures that lead to confidence and mutual understanding, and taking practical steps to unblock the Arab-Israeli conflict.

At the present time, said the Soviet minster, there is a historic chance for a real breakthrough toward a Near East settlement. This is being facilitated by the constructive and realistic stance of the Palestinian leadership and by its readiness to participate in the process of negotiations within the framework of an international conference on the Near East. The entire international community now awaits an adequate response from Israel.

The opinion was voiced that Israel's agreement to participate in the search for a settlement with all parties' interests being taken into account, and to prepare for the convocation of an international conference on the Near East would promote the creation of a favorable atmosphere in the region and would work in favor of the establishment there of a long-awaited stable peace.

E.A. Shevardnadze drew the attention of the Israeli minister to the chief elements of the Soviet concept of an international conference, having laid particular stress on the need to carry our preparatory work aimed at convening it as soon as possible. Of course both bilateral as well as trilateral and regional contacts are not ruled out either. It is important that all interested parties should display responsibility and goodwill, and strive to make a positive contribution to resolving the extremely dangerous and chronic Near East conflict.

Certain issues relating to bilateral relations were also discussed. The ministers agreed to continue the contacts. The consular groups of the sides that are currently in Moscow and Tel Aviv on a temporary basis will set up the appropriate conditions for work.

E.A. Shevardnadze asked that thanks be passed on to the Israeli people and government for the aid in overcoming the aftermath of the Armenian earthquake and the assistance given in connection with the terrorist act, the hijacking of a Soviet airliner.

Meets Iranian, Tunisian Counterparts

LD0801225189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2225 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 9 Jan (TASS)—Late yesterday evening [8 January] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign affairs minister, met Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, who is here in connection with the chemical weapons conference being held in Paris.

During the conversation, certain regional problems of mutual interest, including the Afghan problem and the Iran-Iraq settlement, were discussed. Also touched upon were questions of the development of bilateral relations between the USSR and Iran on the basis of neighborliness and mutual advantage.

E.A. Sevardnadze also met with Tunisian Foreign Affairs Minister Abdelhamid Escheikh.

During their meeting issues on the agenda of the Paris conference were discussed. The ministers spoke in favor of further development of bilateral relations both in the political and the economic spheres.

Meets Iraqi, Norwegian Ministers

LD0701211589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2045 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 7 Jan (TASS)—A meeting took place here today between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and T. 'Aziz, Iraqi minister of foreign affairs. In the brief conversation, matters were touched on concerning the regional situation, the Iran-Iraq settlement, and Soviet-Iraqi contacts.

E.A. Shevardnadze met T.Stoltenberg, Norwegian foreign minister, and had a brief conversation.

Meets Algerian Counterpart

LD0801183989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1317 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 8 Jan (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met Boualem Bessaieh, foreign minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, today.

In the course of conversation, which passed in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding that distinguishes relations between the countries, both bilateral and international issues were discussed.

Both sides expressed readiness for joint steps toward progress in solving regional problems. The positive evolution in a Middle East settlement, primarily in what concerns the international recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization, was noted with satisfaction.

The Soviet side noted the active role of Algerian diplomacy in the international arena.

The ministers informed each other about political and economic reform in their countries.

E.A. Shevardnadze expressed sincere gratitude to Algeria's people and leadership for their help and assistance in overcoming the consequences of the natural disaster in Armenia.

Talks With Turkey's Yilmaz

LD0701222188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2146 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, 7 Jan (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has met with Mesut Yilmaz, Turkish foreign minister. During the conversation, which passed in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere, they discussed some of the most important matters of bilateral relations from the point of view of deepening cooperation in the political, economic, ecological, and cultural fields. They discussed a number of topical international problems in light of the new political thinking. The ministers expressed hope for the speediest completion of the Vienna meeting and the start of talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe. They also exchanged views on certain regional problems, in particular Cyprus and Afghanistan.

M. Yilmaz expressed a desire for the speediest implementation of the invitation to E.A. Shevardnadze to pay an official visit to Turkey.

Meets India's Natwar Singh

LD0801151689 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 8 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, met today with Natwar Singh, India's minister of state for external affairs.

Information on some topical international questions was exchanged by the ministers during a friendly conversation. The situation in the Asia-Pacific region, the state of things with the settlement of the Afghan and Kampuchean problems were discussed.

Natwar Singh told Eduard Shevardnadze about the Indian leadership's recent foreign policy steps. He spoke highly of the speech of the Soviet delegation's head at the conference in Paris. The sides expressed the hope for an early conclusion of the working out of an international convention on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons and their elimination.

Eduard Shevardnadze thanked his interlocutor who heads the Indian commission for relief aid to Armenia for the participation of the Indian people and government in the effort to eliminate the consequences of the Armenian earthquake.

Shultz Meets FRG's Genscher on Libya Charges

LD0701175489 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 7 TASS—Secretary of State George Shultz and West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher had a meeting in Paris today. They are attending the International Conference on Chemical Weapons which is under way here.

The sides discussed West German firms' possible participation in building a chemical factory in Libya which, Washington asserts, is intended for production of chemical weapons. Upon completion of the meeting George Shultz said that West Germany approached the question of chemical armaments very seriously. He expressed confidence that Bonn would carry out an investigation on the problem linked with the Libyan factory.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that the two sides reached an accord on the need for taking measures to prevent proliferation of chemical weapons. The FRG will do the utmost to prevent West German companies from participating in production of chemical weapons.

Commenting on the meeting, the FRANCE PRESSE AGENCY stresses that West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl has recently demanded explanations from the United States which accused West German firms of having participated in building the factory in Libya. That was qualified in Bonn as an action spearheaded against the FRG, the FRANCE PRESSE stresses.

Security Council Continues Debate on Air Incident

USSR Envoy Notes 'Indignation'

LD0601190789 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 6 TASS—Aleksandr Belonogov, Soviet permanent representative to the U.N., pointed to an extreme concern and indignation at the incident off the Libyan coast, as a result of which U.S. fighters downed two Libyan planes. There were no reasons whatsoever for the USA to use military force, since nobody in the area attacked its jets or ships, he said on Friday at a meeting of the U.N. Security Council which continued discussing the question on the U.S. destruction of the two Libyan planes.

The incident off the Libyan shores took place against the background of growing concentration of U.S. naval forces in the Mediterranean and the mass anti-Libyan campaign launched by the USA in the past few weeks. Washington also voices unequivocal threats to inflict a new strike on Libya. Taking into account the past experience, one cannot dismiss these threats, noted the Soviet chief delegate. To justify them, Washington makes references to Libya's alleged intention to produce chemical weapons. However, it is common knowledge that Tripoli repeatedly and officially denied a desire to get combat chemical agents. Under these circumstances the threats to use force against Libya provoke perplexity, to say the least. No matter what pretexts are employed, the use of force runs counter to international community aimed at a search for political settlements of existing conflict situations.

Belonogov called attention of the international community to the fact that the military action taken by the USA did not tally with encouraging processes prevailing in the international arena these days. It is in glaring contradiction with the trend for pushing the process of a Middle East settlement off the ground. This prospect opening also thanks to the start of the American-Palestinian dialogue, is evidently not to everybody's liking.

He also noted that the tragic incident again brought to the fore the question of taking practical moves to strengthen security in the Mediterranean. The Soviet side does not see any need for a stay of the Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean. If the USA withdraws its fleet from there, the Soviet Union will do the same immediately. The Soviet side is ready for cooperation with all interested countries in turning the Mediterranean into an area of peace and cooperation through a collective search for constructive decisions.

Belonogov expressed the hope that the conflict would not spread and would not aggravate confrontation. Under the present circumstances the interested parties should display a responsible and balanced approach and utmost restraint. He called on the Security Council to give a due appraisal to the incident and to take measures for the earliest normalization of the situation and prevention of a repetition of similar illegal actions.

No Support for U.S.

LD0701075789 Moscow TASS in English 0720 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 7 TASS—The U.N. Security Council on Friday continued the discussion of the downing of two Libyan planes by U.S. jets. Representatives of 24 countries and international organisations have already taken the floor. The conclusion of the inadmissibility of air piracy, the use of force contrary to international law standards rang out in all speeches, with the exception of the speech by the U.S. representative. Not a single word was aired in support of the United States' justifications that American pilots acted in "self-defence" in immediate proximity to Libyan shores.

Isack Mudenge, permanent representative of Zambia to the United Nations, said on behalf of the non-aligned countries at the United Nations that the claims by any country to the role of the world sheriff, the right to punish states which are objectionable to it were unacceptable. He emphasized that there should be no place to the gunboat policy in our days. Not only does the aggression against Libya jeopardize peace and security in the Mediterranean, it runs counter to the spirit of dialogue and cooperation in international relations, the Zambian representative said.

In the opinion of Paulo Nogueira-Batista, permanent representative of Brazil to the United Nations, this incident, which clouded international relations, occurred just at the time when the international community's hopes for a peaceful settlement of conflicts on the basis of the U.N. Charter have risen.

"My government strongly denounces the conduct which allows the use of force in inter-state relations and is the cause of a rise in world tension", said Li Luye, permanent representative of the People's Republic of China to the United nations. He called upon the United States to stop any military actions against Libya.

The delegates of Uganda, Nicaragua, Mali and many other countries called the attention of the international community to the highly dangerous nature of the concentration of the U.S. naval forces in the Mediterranean, which exacerbated the situation in one of the most explosive regions, and contradicts the task of turning it into a zone of peace and cooperation.

A draft resolution is being worked out in the Security Council, which envisages, in part, the denunciation of the U.S. military action against Libya, that created a threat to international peace and security, and contains a call to the United States to refrain from any new attacks or threats against Libya, and stop provocative military manouevres off Libya.

On Monday, the Security Council will continue the consideration of this incident.

Vienna Security Conference May End 17-19 Jan

LD0801210989 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] There have been important positive shifts at the ongoing conference in Vienna on European security and cooperation, now more than 2 years old. A positive deadline has been suggested for the first time with the host country, Austria, proposing the final date for ending the forum at foreign minister level between 17 and 19 January. The head of the Soviet delegation at the conference, Yuriy Kashlev, said the draft document was now almost ready. Its full wording, produced by neutral countries, is fully acceptable to the Soviet delegation and for most others. Some Western countries, however, including the United States, Britain and Canada, have so far voiced no final agreement.

The agenda of further moves is said to be highly packed. In the military-political area, plans are being made to hold parallel and complementary talks on confidence-building and security measures, as well as negotiations on conventional forces and arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. The Soviet delegation has given support to a politically important move by neutral countries to hold an experts meeting to discuss peaceful solutions of controversial issues in Europe. In the area of economy, science, and ecology a conference has been planned to be held to discuss trade as well as a scientific forum and the European conference to discuss protection of the environment.

In human rights and cooperation in humanitarian issues, three conferences will be held, in Paris, Copenhagen and Moscow, between 1989 and 1991, to discuss humanitarian dimensions of the Helsinki process. Should the program be accepted in full, said Yuriy Kashlev, that would practically amount to the start of building what is now known as a common European home.

Kashlev Interviewed on Vienna CSCE Status

PM0601161389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Yu.B. Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna CSCE meeting, by own correspondent I. Melnikov in Vienna: "Light at the End of the Tunnel?—Conversation With Head of Soviet Delegation at All-European Meeting"; date not given; first paragraph is correspondent's introduction; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Vienna, Jan—The current meeting in Vienna of representatives of the CSCE member countries has been in progress for over 2 years now. My conversation with Ambassador Yu.B. Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation, began with the statement of that fact which, to be blunt, is not one of the most heartening. This was my first question:

[Melnikov] "The mass media in various countries have reported on a number of occasions that the Vienna meeting is nearing its end. Nevertheless, it is still going on. From the meager reports, including those in our press, it is not easy to understand what the result of the meeting is likely to be and what specifically is preventing its speedy conclusion."

[Kashlev] "The all-European meeting operates, as is well known, on the basis of the principle of consensus, that is, total unanimity of all 35 member states. This principle applies not only to the elaboration of agreements and the text of the eventual final document, but also to the question of whether the agenda has been exhausted and, accordingly, whether the meeting may be concluded. A

further two factors must be added to that of consensus, namely, the most complex agenda embracing virtually all spheres of international relations, and the composition of the participants, including socialist and capitalist, large and small, bloc members and nonaligned: Hence the duration, the protracted nature of the all-European meetings is understandable.

"Until now there has not been a consensus on whether the Vienna meeting has accomplished all its tasks. It is only now that an actual date for the eventual end of the meeting has begun to be mentioned: Austria, the host country, has suggested that the forum at foreign ministerial level end 17-19 January 1989."

[Melnikov] What accords have the participants already achieved in the course of their work?

[Kashlev] The practical results of each all-European meeting are, first, its final document and, second, a concrete program of talks, conferences, and meetings of various kinds where the accords reached in the military-political, economic, environmental, and humanitarian spheres are to be implemented—a program that covers the period until the next meeting.

The draft final document of the Vienna meeting is virtually ready now and is awaiting adoption. Its full text, submitted by the neutral countries, is wholly acceptable to the Soviet delegation and indeed to the majority of other delegations, although some Western countries (the United States, Britain, and Canada) still have not given it their final consent.

[Melnikov] What is the position on the program of so-called "subsequent steps."

[Kashlev] The program of "subsequent steps" is a very full one. Whereas in the 13 years between Helsinki and Vienna no more than 10 all-European conferences, forums, and so on were held in Europe, it is now proposed that 12 such events be held between 1989 and 1991 alone.

In the military-political sphere there are parallel and complementary talks on confidence- and security-building measures and talks on armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. Our delegation also supports the politically important proposal of the neutral countries on convening a conference of experts on the peaceful settlement of disputes in Europe.

In the sphere of the economy, science, and the environment, it is planned to hold a conference on trade and economic questions, a scientific forum, and an all-European conference on environmental protection

In the sphere of human rights and humanitarian cooperation, there is a proposal to hold three conferences within the framework of a "conference on the human dimension of the Helsinki process"—in Paris (1989), Copenhagen (1990), and Moscow (1991)—as well as an all-European information forum (in London) and a symposium on the preservation of Europe's cultural heritage (in Krakow).

If the proposed program is adopted, it would mark the beginning of the practical building of what is known as the "common European home."

The overwhelming majority of the delegations support the adoption of the present draft final document and the program of "subsequent steps." In fact, only the U.S. delegation continues to insist that this program be virtually halved.

"Vienna has a unique opportunity," the Soviet delegation head said in conclusion, "to build the 'common European home' on the foundations laid in Helsinki. Both the individual and collective efforts of all its participants must be used in this building process."

'Roundtable' on Paris Talks, U.S.-Libya

LD0801193889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 8 Jan 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry collegium member and chief editor of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN; Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, board member of the Soviet Union Telegraph Agency and TASS chief foreign news editor; and Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] [Pasko] Hello, comrades. The first working week of 1989 has passed. It is a year that we have begun with optimism, having behind us considerable achievements in restructuring the economy and the political system, and great changes for the better in international relations. This fact was noted in the New Year statements by politicians and statesmen of virtually every country. Socialism's task is not to isolate itself from the world community, but to act as a leading force in resolving today's immediate problems and to conduct a joint quest for a way of ensuring the supremacy of universal ideas over an infinite number of centrifugal forces, and of preserving civilization's viability. This is how Comrade Gorbachev set out our approach to resolving these problems in his UN speech—a speech which even today, 1 month after it was made, is being widely commented on throughout the world. The constructive initiatives on cutting Soviet Armed Forces and arms, and on achieving further progress at the talks on reinforcing international security and settling regional conflicts put forward in that speech create an intensive and businesslike program of concrete action aimed at more rapidly ensuring substantial progress on the matters causing greatest concern in the world. And this program is in operation: Take, for instance, last week's events in connection with resolving the problem of Afghanistan.

[Chukseyev] The Soviet Union is making the most vigorous diplomatic efforts to secure a settlement in Afghanistan and ensure fulfillment of the Geneva agreements. Our radio listeners will obviously have noticed the Soviet press reports on the meetings and talks that Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign affairs minister and Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, has been holding with various Afghan opposition groups, as well as with the former king of Afghanistan. These contacts and the agreement to continue them are in themselves a considerable achievement.

I remind you that at the very beginning of the new year a meeting took place in Tehran with the leaders of the opposition council of the Islamic Coalition of Afghanistan—the so-called Alliance of Eight—and at the end of the week there was a meeting in Pakistan with the leaders of the Alliance of Seven. In a recent interview with the British paper THE TIMES, Afghan President Najibullah expressed his complete support for these Soviet efforts. He noted that the Republic of Afghanistan is willing to hold open every possible channel for negotiations with all groups interested in securing peace in the country. At the same time, during the interview Najibullah mentioned that if the negotiation and compromise policy fails, his government will continue to fight and will be capable of staying in power.

The Soviet Union's diplomatic activity has been highly acclaimed in the West. The EEC, for instance, has described as exceptionally important the Soviet Government's decision to begin expanded consultations involving, among others, Afghan opposition representatives—consultations aimed at forming a government in Afghanistan which is open to all social strata and political tendencies. The Community has also appealed to all parties concerned to adhere to the Geneva agreements.

[Pasko] As far as I understand it, that appeal was directed primarily toward Pakistan. Pakistan is expressing a commitment to the idea of setting up a broad-based government, but in practice support is being given to that section of the opposition which rejects compromise and rules out the possibility of setting up such a government. One must assume that this policy of Pakistan's derives from the vested interest of those circles through whom weapons are supplied to the irreconcilables. Each day of the war in Afghanistan provides considerable revenue for the arms dealers; hence Pakistan's unwillingness to adhere to the Geneva agreements. It is indicative that it's not only the idea of setting up a broad-based government that is being rejected, but also the idea of neutralizing and demilitarizing Afghanistan. Pakistan has described as propaganda Kabul's proposal to convene an international conference on this issue under UN aegis. In such circumstances the talks conducted this week by Comrade Vorontsov acquire, to my mind, particular significance, and this was noted in the statement by the 12 West European countries.

[Pyadyshev] Let's hope that however badly things may be going at the moment in Afghanistan, the withdrawal of Soviet troops will be completed by 15 February—in just over a month's time—thereby closing what I would describe as a complex and difficult chapter in contemporary history. I would like to add that 1988 has bequeathed us a fairly complex inheritance in the form of numerous acute regional conflicts on virtually every continent, with the exception, perhaps, of Europe.

At the same time however, 1988 has left us with the prospect, the hope, the expectation that these regional conflicts will be resolved. Last year a policy of national reconciliation was drawn up and put into practice in a whole range of countries and regions. And now, as we can see, events in southern Africa are developing quite favorably, I would say positively. On Tuesday, 10 January the first group of Cuban troops begins withdrawing from Angola in line with the agreements concluded some time ago. Progress is thus being made toward settling that long-standing, lasting conflict in the south of Africa. In my opinion reasonable progress is also being made on finding a solution to the acute and prolonged conflict in and around Cambodia; very real opportunities have now emerged for untying that knot too. In the Near East things are developing in quite an interesting way at the moment; support is being given to the Palestinian movement not only by the Palestinians' traditional allies and partners—sympathy with the movement has recently been voiced by a whole range of West European states. In short, the new year could be unique as regards progress in resolving the existing acute regional conflicts.

[Chukseyev] Unfortunately, there are serious difficulties ahead of us along this road, as shown by the latest events in connection with Libya. This was perhaps the most important international issue of the past week. As we know, the climax came on 4 January, when U.S. aircraft based on the aircraft-carrier John F. Kennedy shot down two Libyan fighters which were on a reconnaissance flight. This was preceded by a savage campaign of anti-Libyan accusations whipped up by the United States over Libya's alleged creation of a chemical factory for the production of poisonous substances 60 km from Tripoli. The Libyan leadership has explained more than once that it is a purely peaceful pharmaceutical enterprise and has suggested that the U.S. Administration inspect it. Those proposals were not accepted, however, though I should mention that representatives of a number of countries such as Algeria and Syria who have been there have stated that the factory is designed for the production of medicines alone. Nor has there been any confirmation of U.S. claims that West European firms—primarily West German companies—are involved in the construction of that chemical weapons center.

So what's behind all this anti-Libyan hullabaloo? This is a question now being asked in many countries, and it is being noted that the campaign is completely out of step with the spirit of the times. It is indeed true that 1988 brought a warming-up of international relations and

considerable progress in resolving regional conflicts, but to all appearances the U.S. Administration has no intention of giving up its former strong-arm methods and is ready to employ punitive measures against Libya, as, for example, in 1986. The British FINANCIAL TIMES has cast doubt on the legality of such methods, writing as follows: Even if—and I stress this word if—the U.S. allegations were true, under the 1925 Geneva protocol currently in force, Libya has the same right as the United States to produce and stock chemical weapons as a means of deterrence.

Incidentally, about the Geneva protocol: An international conference on banning chemical weapons began in Paris yesterday, and in this connection some observers are apprehensive that by refusing to send inspectors to the Libyan factory, it is as if Washington is deliberately forewarning of the destruction and banning of chemical weapons. For as these observers are pointing out, the only guarantee of such monitoring is direct inspection.

There is much to indicate that the present campaign is aimed not so much at the factory near Tripoli as at the Libyan Government in general—a government which Washington has declared a center of international terrorism. Here's what former CIA boss Turner said the other day: If Reagan wishes to drive a nail into Al-Qadhdhafi's coffin during his final weeks as President, he will do so.

Here's an interesting item from the weekly AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL published in London. The journal writes that there are several bases in Africa where American and Israeli instructors are training special units under the name "The National Front for the Salvation of Libya." Their purpose is to penetrate Libyan territory at an appropriate moment and seize power. So it's not out of place to ask who, in actual fact, is inclined towards acts of state terrorism?

Finally, Arab political circles are voicing apprehension that the threats of military action against Libya and the creation of tension in the Mediterranean constitute a novel kind of concession to the Zionist lobby in the United States, as well as to Israel, where the prospect of a peace conference and a Near East settlement have been received with blatant hostility.

[Pasko] The confrontation over the Mediterranean has evoked a very broad response throughout the world. The U.S. Administration has managed to convince the legislature of the truth of its version, according to which the Libyan aircraft were hit in self-defense. It ought to be mentioned, however, that Western Europe and the Arab world distrust that version. Many people see this attack as a curtsey toward those opposed to the dialogue the United States has begun with the Palestinian Liberation Organization—in other words, the U.S. Administration wants to show that its line of conduct in the Near East remains unchangeable.

The general view, however, is that this incident will not pass without repercussions in international relations. Some newspapers are putting forward highly disturbing suppositions. The British INDEPENDENT, for instance, considers that the destruction of the Libyan aircraft has wrecked hopes of putting an end to the production of chemical weapons worldwide. The paper reports that at the chemical weapons conference now begun in Paris, the Arab countries that have called on the United States not to attack on the chemical factory will now take Libya's side and be suspicious of Western initiatives.

[Pyadyshev] Taking part in the conference on reinforcing the 1925 Geneva protocol and on banning the use of chemical weapons which opened in Paris on 7 January are representatives of 140 states, of which around 75 have sent their foreign minister. Our foreign minister—Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze—is also in Paris at the moment; besides taking part directly in the conference, he has ahead of him a whole range of business meetings with his counterparts, the ministers of other countries, which means that his stay in Paris will comprise, in effect, a whole round of talks, contacts and discussions.

[Pasko] Boris Dmitriyevich, the conference in Paris is devoted to the Geneva protocol of 1925, but as far as I understand, it should focus its attention on the problem of concluding a convention, as soon as possible, on a universal and complete ban on chemical weapons.

[Pyadyshev] This should be a document as yet unknown to history. In it provision will not only be made for the complete elimination of a whole type of mass destruction weapon, but also a system of verification has to be developed which you will not be able to call anything but all-embracing. Besides the systematic checking of sites—which will be declared by the participants to the convention—of chemical weapons stores, establishments producing them, and destroying them, of civilian chemical enterprises and so forth, a clause on the inspection of any place or establishment under suspicion of carrying out such forbidden activity, is also being worked out. Moreover, a state to which a request for such an inspection is made will not have the right according to the convention to refuse the inspection.

It must be said that George Bush, who on 20 January will take up the office of president of the United States, first suggested the idea of such inspections in 1984. At that time he called this convention on verification an open invitation. Now the Soviet Union has accepted this invitation. In this way it is now a question of working out the corresponding clause of the convention at multilateral talks.

[Pasko] We link the year that has just begun with great hopes for advances at the talks on disarmament. These hopes are not without foundation. A new historical reality, a turning away from the principle of being armed

to a very high degree to the principle of a reasonable sufficiency for defense is springing up before our eyes. The whole world is still impressed by the decision of the Soviet Union to reduce its Armed Forces. The press in the NATO countries is full of statements that the West, if it is really in favor of reducing the level of military confrontation—that from its side similar unilateral reductions should follow. Thoughts are expressed as to what might be subject to reduction. There are, it goes without saying, quite different views, but it seems to me that public opinion can no longer be changed.

[Pyadyshev] When we talk about disarmament matters, one must bear in mind that great potential for restructuring world affairs lies in the concept of openness and glasnost. The largest obstructions in our country grew up in these very areas in the years of stagnation and extreme secrecy. How, for example, can one be reconciled with the fact that as yet we still do not know how much is spent on defense. What, for example, is the role of this military expenditure in producing the deficit in our state budget?

Glasnost and openness in the military and political sphere in our country are for the time being only taking their first steps. There is no information on either the size of our Army or the numbers of weapons we have, although such information is employed freely abroad. It goes without saying that it is not a matter of the fact that we must publish information on how to make a ballistic missile or disclose the composition of the armor on a tank. In the modern world, however, where there is the means for space reconnaissance, to conceal general information about armed forces means to have secrets from no one, only from one's own people.

Only in an atmosphere of extreme secrecy and lack of control on the part of our parliament could it come about that we manufactured two times as many shorter- and intermediate-range missiles as the United States, and, in point of fact, ourselves contributed to the creation of a second strategic front against the Soviet Union in Europe.

Or this question: Why, since that time when the United States stopped the production of chemical weapons, did we, over the course of more than 15 years, drive forward the production of chemicals. Did the secrecy about the question of whether we possessed this weapon at all, not play a role in this? Let me recall that we acknowledged their existence only in 1987. Did we not, by this, facilitate the decision to develop binary chemical weapons in the United States?

It is clear that an open review of questions of military construction, including the military budget of the current and long-term defense programs, would be in line with our policy on democratization and glasnost in the new USSR Supreme Soviet. The question also as to whether to publish regularly official statistical data about the numbers of our Armed Forces and the quantity of our combat equipment has become topical. This would constitute an important guarantee of the irreversibitity of restructuring and the development of glasnost and democracy.

In general, we now have quite good prosepcts for advances in disarmament. The question of concluding a new agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons with the Americans is on the agenda. A great deal of work has already been done on this question, although complicated, difficult problems remain, above all the question of sea-launched cruise missiles. We expect that after the Vienna meeting ends, multilateral talks on the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces in central Europe will start. This is in addition to those unilateral steps in this direction about which we have already spoken. There is the possibility of taking a good step forward in the old matter of banning nuclear tests in the matter of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. In a word, this year of 1989 promises to bear results in this connection.

[Pasko] Last week there was also progress in developing talks on such important problems as the humanitarian one. I have in mind the U.S. decision to take part in the international conference on human rights to be held, at our initiative and suggestion, in Moscow in 1991.

[Chukseyev] A similar decision has been made by the British Government. As is well known, an entire round of talks is in the offing on the full set of humanitarian issues. This year a conference of this kind is to be held in Paris, in particular in connection with the bicentenary of the great French revolution. Next year a large-scale conference on humanitarian issues is planned in Copenhagen, and finally, in 1991, we expect to hold a conference of the world community in the Soviet Union, in Moscow, on the large set of humanitarian issues.

The Soviet Union has been preparing for this for a long time and taking it seriously. We do have things to talks about at a conference of this kind, something to say about ourselves; and should the need arise, we can also talk about the situation regarding human rights and humanitarian issues in other countries. I repeat, however, that our aim is not to exacerbate the discussions, but rather to find mutually acceptable solutions to the issues in this sphere.

[Pasko] I should like to add to that, that the idea of holding such a conference was proposed by the Soviet Union as long ago as the end of 1986. The very fact that the question was raised spoke of the fact that we have nothing to fear from a frank and businesslike conversation on these matters. It should be taken into account that the Soviet proposal does not restrict debate at the conference to political human rights as the West prefers to do. We are proposing a thorough analysis of the whole set of humanitarian problems, that is, the entire range of issues, outlined by the Helsinki Final Act—civil, political, economic, social, cultural, and other rights and

freedoms. We have not and do not intend to contrast social rights with civil and political ones. They are all, in due degree, necessary to guarantee a fitting existence for mankind.

[Pyadyshev] Mikhail Sergeyevich's UN speech put it well: We have now begun to overcome the isolation we imposed upon ourselves in the economic, ecological, and humanitarian spheres. There is no doubt that our actions in the international arena in the humanitarian sphere are more closely linked with what is being done at home than anything else. We wish to remove currency and bureaucratic restrictions on the way to direct participation by a great variety of our country's economic units in international economic life.

In the humanitarian sphere there is the task of improving the criminal legislation, in particular, with the aim of ensuring citizens a guarantee of not being persecuted for their political or religious convictions.

Laws on freedom of conscience, glasnost, and public organizations must be worked out. The Criminal Code articles linked to carrying out the supreme penalty are to be reviewed. The announcement of the steps we are taking to eliminate the problem of the so-called refusniks evoked a wide response throughout the world.

In this connection, then, I should like to mention the fact that at the very end of last year, a fairly noteworthy event took place at the Soviet Union's Foreign Affairs Ministry. I am talking of the conference of staff from the consular service which celebrated its 70th anniversary at the end of last year.

This conference was not held in the usual birthday mood but passed off in a businesslike way, discussing very specific matters. To begin with, our Soviet consular service is now an important and well-staffed branch of the Soviet diplomatic service. Currently we have 194 Soviet consular establishments at work abroad. There are 164 foreign consular representations working in our country. Our consular staff defend the interests of almost 200,000 Soviets—specialists, diplomats, journalists and the members of families—outside the boundaries of our motherland, on working trips abroad. Our consular staff has direct contact with and is called upon to defend the interests of the 150,000 Soviet citizens living permanently abroad.

In former days, consular staff and consuls were often regarded as a barrier, you know, restraining and impeding exchanges between the Soviet Union and other, foreign countries. Today times are changing. Today the consular service is called upon to facilitate and promote the development of contacts, reciprocal visits, and exchanges between the Soviet Union and other states.

I should like to draw attention to the fact that Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze raised the question most urgently in his speech at this conference of the consular service' contribution to our economic affairs and the development of our economic relations. He said that the consular service should under no circumstances become a force putting the brakes on restructuring. Financial autonomy, self-financing, and the independence of enterprises, cooperatives and lease-holders, are impossible if it is difficult for them to obtain a passport or visa. Those who are concerned for state security—and, of course, this is something that should constantly be borne in mind—must realize that the real threat to our country will arise at the moment we become economically insolvent, if we cannot get used to general worldwide economic process or go with the general flow of scientific and technical progress. It is evident that the entire diplomatic service, the entire foreign policy service of the Soviet Union is aimed at energetically propelling the cause of restructuring further so as to promote in a practical way the performance of those tasks set before our foreign policy by the party Central Committee.

[Pasko] A mere week has passed since the start of 1989. It was marked by various events, good and bad. It seems to me the good were in the majority, but that's not the point. What is important is that the new year began against a good background of improvements in the international situation. Just look. An authoritative mission from Iran has just visited Moscow. Soviet-Chinese, Soviet-West German, Soviet-French summit meetings are being prepared, and important work is currently in hand at the Conference on Chemical Weapons in Paris. In other words, the talks process is definitely gaining strength. The period of confrontation in international relations is seemingly becoming a thing of the past.

A U.S. newspaper has given a highly original description of this process: Humanity, it said, is experiencing a peace epidemic. To be honest, I wouldn't have called it an epidemic. However, if one isn't too finicky about the words, an epidemic like that would be the only one which ought to be encouraged to spread.

Allow me here, comrades, to round up our meeting today. Thank you for taking part, and all the best.

United States & Canada

Further Reaction to U.S. Downing of Libyan Jets

Threatens Improved World Security

PM0601121589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 First Edition p3

[V. Pustov "Observer's Opinion": "From the Threat of Force to the Use of Force"]

[Text] What the world public has been warning of with increasing alarm in the last few days has now happened. The U.S. Air Force has committed yet another extremely dangerous act of brigandage in the Mediterranean by bringing down two Libyan military aircraft.

As in the past, when an attack was carried out against Libyan aircraft and then Libyan cities, also under a far-fetched pretext, the present piratical attack was preceded by a vociferous campaign of slander and threats across the ocean. Washington accuses Libya, without any foundation, of allegedly building a plant to manufacture chemical weapons.

Even in a number of capitals of European countries allied with the United States this fabrication has not been given any credibility. "West German representatives have said that American photographs of the Libyan plant taken by satellite and sent to West Germany," THE WASHINGTON POST wrote, "do not prove that the enterprise is designed to manufacture chemical weapons." Washington has also turned a deaf ear to an official statement from the Libyan Government that the plant in question is a pharmaceutical one. It suggested that an international inspection team be sent to establish that the enterprise is intended for the production of medical preparations alone.

But, with the bit between its teeth, as they say, the Pentagon has resolved to ignore considerations dictated by common sense. The punitive machine has already been set in full motion. A strike group comprising 13 warships led by the aircraft carrier "Theodore Roosevelt" is being urgently transferred to the Mediterranean to back up the ships of the 6th Fleet.

It is impossible not to note that this latest recurrence of Washington's imperial policy toward Libya comes at a time when it is universally recognized that the lessening of international tension is gathering momentum in the world, and when the people of the world have found hopes for a better future and stronger universal security.

This hope is now in jeopardy. As a result of U.S. aggression, the situation in the Mediterranean is becoming extremely heated. The people of the region have not forgotten the repeated criminal acts committed in the not so distant past by the U.S. 6th Fleet, against both Libya and Lebanon. The entire world public is adding its voice to the demand that this brigandage be immediately stopped.

U.S. Displays 'Injured Innocence'

PM0601123189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch under the rubric "Provocation Against Libya": "Shots Were Fired Without Orders. The Pentagon Justifies Its Act of Aggression"]

[Text] New York, 5 Jan—According to U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci's story, the U.S. pilots took their course of action "in self-defense." Despite the U.S. pilots' frequent attempts in the course of a series of maneuvers to escape pursuit, the defense secretary stated, the Libyans continued to "draw dangerously near." Thus it is alleged, clearly revealing their "hostile intentions." In this connection, when the U.S. and Libyan planes were approximately 14 miles apart, the commander of one of the F-14's opened fire.

It turned out in the course of the Washington news conference that none of the U.S. pilots asked the aircraft-carrier command for permission to attack the Libyan aircraft.

According to a statement made by M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan Revolution, the Libyan aircraft were on a reconnaissance flight and were carrying no arms.

Thus, as in the case of the Iranian passenger aircrraft a few months ago, the Americans are claiming with an air of injured innocence that the other side had clear aggressive intentions and that the Americans acted in self-defense in both cases. The one question that the U.S. authorities prefer not to answer in all such cases, is as follows: What were U.S. naval formations doing thousands of miles from U.S. shores? The U.S. military presence in various regions of the world has frequently beeen the cause of similar tragic incidents.

The United Nations is greatly concerned by the incident involving the two Libyan aircraft. Information concerning what happened in the Mediterranean on the morning of 4 January immediately became the number one news item here.

Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, stated that the destruction of the two Libyan aircraft will have an adverse impact on the Near East settlement process that is just gaining momentum. UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar urged the sides to be restrained and expressed the hope that there would be no escalation of the conflict.

C. Maksoud, the Arab League's permanent UN observer, criticized the United States for its actions in the Mediterranean. He stated that the incident would have an extremely negative effect on Arab-U.S. relations.

Attention is drawn to the haste with which Israel announced that it fully excuses the U.S. pilots' behavior in this episode. The clearly transparent enthusiasm of the Israeli authorities' reaction palpably shows who really benefits from kindling tension in this region of the world at this time.

An emergency session of the UN Security Council is scheduled for today—it will be devoted to elucidating all the circumstances of the incident.

United Nations Discussion Noted

PM0601175389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch: "Security Council Session"]

[Text] New York, 6 Jan—UN Security Council meetings convened at Libya's request to discuss an act of air piracy—the attack by U.S. fighters on Libyan aircraft—have begun. The overwhelming majority of speakers are decisively condemning the U.S. actions.

An observer of the Arab League and the leader of the Ivory Coast delegation to the United Nations voiced a resolute protest against the actions of the Pentagon in the Mediterranean. A. Muntasir, Libyan charge d'affaires ad interim to the United Nations, has described the actions of the American pilots as an unprovoked act of overt aggression which could prove to be a prelude to extensive, dangerous aggressive action. He demanded the adoption of a special resolution condemning the U.S. actions in this incident which, according to him, cannot be regarded in isolation from the general thrust of American policy in the Mediterranean region.

The Libyan representative resolutely refuted the U.S. accusations that Libya intends to produce chemical weapons, reminding people that slanderous disinformation campaigns have been employed by the United States in the past to conceal aggressive actions against his country.

H. Okun, U.S. deputy permanent representative to the United Nations, said without a moment's hesitation that the United States and not Libya should be considered the "injured party" in this episode. His speech amounted to a repetition of the Pentagon's justifications, the aim of which is to portray the actions of the Libyan pilots as "aggressive" and those of the Americans as purely defensive.

It is quite clear, however, that what happened in the Mediterranean goes beyond the limits of this one deplorable episode. This incident is one of many provocative "acts of retribution" by the United States against Libya in the last 8 years. I will remind the reader that the last such action took the form of a bomb attack on Tripoli and Bengazi in 1986, which led to the deaths of innocent people. The attack on the Libyan aircraft is one link in the chain of the United States' strong-arm pressure on Libya. The United States has assumed a self-styled right to decide for others what is good and what is bad in politics, chastise the recalcitrant, and administer justice and mete out punishment. Naturally, methods like these are causing just indignation among the world community.

U.S. 'War of Nerves' With Libya

PM0601121189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under the general heading: "Escalation in 'War of Nerves'"]

[Text] Washington, 5 Jan—NBC pointed out that the United States has found itself in a complex position as a result of the action in the Mediterranean. "By no means everyone thinks the story of the Libyan plant producing chemical weapons is plausible," the television company indicated. The Europeans reacted skeptically to these claims. Europeans don't take the threat of "Libyan terrorism" seriously.

According to ABC, Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, opposes a strike on Libya if no convincing proof is adduced that the plant is manufacturing chemical agents rather than medical preparations. The admiral urged the future U.S. administration to tackle "the resolution of such complex questions very carefully."

UPI pointed out that the downing of the two Libyan aircraft "has resulted in the escalation of the war of nerves" between Washington and Tripoli. However, the agency stressed, U.S. officials have never made any secret of the Reagan administration's efforts to provoke Libya. CBS TV pointed out that this is the fourth time during the Reagan presidency that the United States has used its Armed Forces against Libya.

Political Observer Reviews Downing

LD0601195189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] During the day reports have been coming in from many countries about protests in connection with the provocative actions of the United States, whose Air Force shot down two Libyan airplanes over the Mediterranean Sea. I have asked our political observer Aleksandr Zholkver to comment on these reports.

[Zholkver] The reports on the UN Security Council session, a meeting of about 100 nonaligned states, as well statements by statesmen from other countries draw attention above all to the exceptional danger of the

methods used by the United States for its actions against Libya. The formula used by a West German newspaper to describe the essence of these methods is quite accurate: Shoot first, and then think. Indeed, it has transpired, for example, that the U.S. pilots who fired at the Libyan airplanes even failed to ask for permission from the aircraft carrier commander, let alone higher authorities. It simply appeared to them, you see, that the Libyan aircraft were coming dangerously close, although the distance between them was still about 15 miles. But where will things end up if U.S. soldiers start pushing buttons to launch their missiles each time something like this happens?

Last year a U.S. cruiser in the Persian Gulf on similar grounds shot down an Iranian air bus, which it took for a military airplane which was also allegedly coming close to the ship. Admittedly, the danger of such actions is truly global in nature because U.S. warships and warplanes are stationed not only in the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf but also in many other areas of the globe. This is why representatives from the most diverse countries are now protesting so sharply that the United States is trying to presumptiously appropriate the functions of some sort of a world police officer.

Indeed, let us take U.S. relations with Libya itself. Some time ago, Washington began to claim that terrorists who had blown up a U.S. bar in West Berlin had come from Libya. And without lending too much thought to it, without sorting out what is fact and what is fiction, Washington ordered bombing raids on Libyan cities. Recently, Washington has begun saying that near the Libyan capital a chemical weapon plant is under construction. Again, although these claims have been refuted by both the Libyan leadership and the West German firm building the plant, calls have been heard in Washington for bombing or missile raids on Libya.

True, it is not yet known whether the present incident in the Mediterranean Sea is connected with this. However, I can quite imagine that the incessant calls for punishing Libya have a psychological effect on U.S. soldiers, making it easier for them to push buttons to launch missiles. Thus, as I can imagine, the incident in the Mediterranean Sea is by no means just local. It graphically shows what dangerous consequences can be brought about by the policy of military adventurism and state terrorism in modern times.

U.S. Does Not Rule Out Strike on Libyan Plant

OW0701023989 Beijing XINHUA in English 0041 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Washington, January 6 (XINHUA)—A White House spokesman today declined to rule out military strike against a Libyan chemical weapons plant, saying "one never rules out any options."

The United States said the incident over the Mediterranean had no relation with the concern over the Libyan chemical weapon plant. However, President Ronald Reagan said two weeks ago that the United States is discussing with its allies the possibility of taking military actions against the Libyan chemical facility.

"The President's last words are still the relevant ones," White house spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said today when asked whether the President is against a military strike against the Libyan plant.

"We won't comment on future military actions, but one never rules out any options," he said.

Asked if the options include the possibility of bombing the Libyan chemical plant, Fitzwater said, "No, I'm just saying that our boilerplate answer remains the same, that we don't rule out future military actions."

Concerning the Paris conference on chemical weapons that begins Saturday, Fitzwater said the United States will urge the allies and all countries there to try to use whatever power and influence they have to prevent the production of chemical weapons.

U.S. Refuses Entry Visa to Soviet General

LD0601145889 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—U.S. authorities have denied an entry visa to Soviet General Geliy Batenin, a Communist Party Central Committee expert on military matters, the man told TASS.

The military expert was to fly to the United States to address a news conference devoted to a just-completed television mini-series on war and peace in the nuclear age.

The decision by the U.S. authorities "can only cause perplexity," said Batenin. He had been invited to appear at the news conference and agreed to come, but had then been denied a visa for what were described as "domestic security considerations."

"I don't know what kind of danger can emanate from a man who is professionally concerned with problems of ensuring general security," he commented.

The decision by the U.S. authorities is completely at odds with demands for free exchanges of information and ideas.

Paper Reports Visa Refusal

PM0601180189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Calling You From IZVESTIYA": "Soviet General Is Refused A Visa"]

[Text] REUTER has transmitted a report that Soviet General G. Batenin, who was to have flown to the United States to attend a news conference on the completion of the work on the television serial "War and Peace in the Nuclear Age," has been refused a U.S. visa. According to a spokesman for the "Public Broadcasting System" television company, the State Department made the decision on the basis that the Soviet general represents a "security threat."

But we decided to try to establish the motives behind the refusal of a visa and called the American embassy in Moscow. U.S. Embassy Press Secretary R. Gilbert agreed to comment on the State Department decision. Here are his words:

"There are provisions in U.S. legislation on the basis of which the U.S. Government can refuse a visa. Mr Batenin was refused a visa for reasons connected with the country's internal security."

We read R. Gilbert the bit of the REUTER report about the "security threat," but the press secretary reiterated his words.

Finally: According to REUTER, the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting has made an official protest to the USIA noting that the State Department's decision violates the "free exchange of ideas."

Official Comments on Complex U.S. Visa Laws

LD0701110889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0945 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS)—More than 90,000 people, together with children below the age of 18, departed from the USSR over 11 months of last year. These are, on the whole, persons of German, Jewish, and Armenian nationality.

Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the Visas and Registration Department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, reported this in an interview to the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. He also noted that the number of temporary trips has grown sharply in recent time. The lifting of restrictions on trips by invitation to the capitalist states promotes this.

"The regulations connected with trips abroad are being continually renewed," said Rudolf Kuznetsov. "The process of drawing up new legislative acts is now under way. They are being prepared for the purposes of developing cooperation between the USSR and other countries in humanitarian and other spheres, and of extending the existing practice of contacts among people, taking into consideration the USSR's international obligations on these questions."

Rudolf Kuznetsov has only just returned from the United States where, among other things, he discussed the question of emigration. "The discussions passed off correctly, but we were perplexed by the reply to questions about the right of free exit," he says. "People ask us to be allowed out, receive permission, but the U.S. embassy does not give a visa for a long time and may not give one at all. Alongside this, state apartments are given up and cooperative ones sold. People resign from work. But how are they to live and where should they go? Besides this the U.S. side has somehow to amend its legislation in the sense that if relatives in the United States undertake to provide for the emigres, why should they be considered "refugees"? In fact, people are forced to give what they know is false information, and invent 'incidents of oppression', in order to fall under this category".

Shevardnadze, Shultz Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD0801174989 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 8 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz signed here today an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in basic scientific research and a memorandum of understanding on cooperation in combatting illegal narcotics trafficking.

The new Soviet-American agreement, viewing basic scientific research as important for the development of the national economies, will enable governmental and non-governmental organisations and individual scientists of the two countries to engage in joint theoretical and experimental research, hold joint scientific conferences, symposiums and working meetings, exchange scientific information and documents. Cooperation will comprise terrestrial sciences, research in engineering, studies of life, mathematics, chemistry, theoretical physics, development of the arctic and the north, and scientific policy.

Appropriate arrangements will be concluded by the sides to fulfil the provisions of this document. Negotiations on formulating them are underway between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the National Science Foundation of the USA, between the USSR Ministry of Geology and the U.S. Geological Survey.

A memorandum on narcotics was formulated in accordance with the understanding that Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan reached at their meeting in Washington in December 1987. The memorandum creates a legal basis for cooperation of law enforcement bodies of the two countries and envisages the exchange of information about suspects or persons known to engage in the illegal drug-trafficking via the territory of one of the two countries to the other or smuggling narcotics to the territory of the other country.

Besides that, the memorandum envisages the possibility of a mutual use of the method of a controlled delivery or other such methods, exchange of information and experts dealing with narcotics contraband and methods of checking it.

The memorandum creates the conditions for mutual information on cargoes of chemicals used for the synthesis of narcotics and also for the exchange of samples of narcotics and other dangerous substances.

Soviet Expert on Drug Agreement

LD0801201889 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—The Soviet-American memorandum of understanding on cooperation in combatting illegal narcotics trafficking opens another area of direct interaction between the great powers for a humane aim of safeguarding lives of people, said Leonid Lozbenko, head of International Cooperation Department of the Main Directorate of State Customs Control at the USSR Council of Ministers. The memorandum was signed by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in Paris today.

The document signed enables the USSR and the USA not only to take bilateral measures to combat drug-trafficking but also to pool their efforts effectively with third countries in this area, Leonid Lozbenko said in an interview to TASS. Having one of the highest rates in the world for the volume of transit cargoes passing its territory, the USSR is sincerily interested in broad participation in the efforts of the world community to combat on a bilateral and on a multilateral basis illegal narcotics trafficking, he said.

The memorandum on narcotics was formulated in accordance with the understanding that Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan reached at their meeting in Washington in December 1987. The memorandum creates a legal basis for cooperation of law-enforcement bodies of the two countries and envisages the exchange of information about suspects or persons known to enage in illegal drug-trafficking via the territory of one of the two countries to the other or smuggling narcotics to the territory of the other country. Besides that, the memorandum envisages the possibility of a mutual use of the method of a controlled delivery or other such methods, exchange of information and experts dealing with narcotics contraband and methods of checking it. The memorandum creates condition for mutual information on cargoes of chemicals used for synthesising narcotics and also for the exchange of samples of narcotics and other dangerous substances.

Soviet customs officials took part more than once in joint operations to combat illegal drug-trafficking. In several cases in interaction with similar services of other countries they succeeded in revealing criminal rings of contrabandists smuggling narcotics and finding the thoroughly camouflaged end recipients of the deadly products.

Dubinin Thanks Americans for Earthquake Aid

LD0801180389 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 8 TASS—The NEW YORK TIMES and NEWSDAY have published letters of Yuriy Dubinin, Soviet ambassador to the U.S. which expressed profound gratitude to all the organisations and individuals who responded to the tragedy that hit the Soviet Republic of Armenia and rendered moral and material assistance to the quake victims.

Numerous funds were set up in the U.S. including by the U.S. Red Cross society and Armenian organisations which continue to help Soviet Armenia. Many Americans send money to a special account of the USSR Vneshekonombank. "In this tragic time for the Soviet people the tragedy of our Armenian sisters and brothers became a tragedy to each of us. We see a broad response with which those tragic developments were met by the American people who took an active part in helping quake victims," Dubinin's letter pointed out.

The Soviet ambassador sends personal letters with gratitude to thousands of Americans and to various organisations which express condolences in connection with the tragedy through the Soviet Embassy, send parcels and use other ways to help Soviet people, specifically, transfer money to bank account No 04.08.572.564. It was opened by the embassy at the Riggs National Bank, the biggest bank in Washington, in response to numerous requests of Americans who voiced their desire to help quake victims.

Symposium on Planetology Held With USA

LD0601204089 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—The study of such fundamental problems as the history of the formation of the Mars and Venus atmosphere is of tremendous practical value. Participants in a Soviet-American symposium on planetology which ended here on Friday pointed out that the study of the evolution of other planets would

permit us to understand better the climatic changes in the earth under the impact of the economic activities of man, specifically, the "ozone hole" over the Antartic region.

Thomas Donahue, professor at Michigan University, said that meetings like this symposium help the two countries' governments and space agencies to coordinate future programs, including the U.S. Mars-observer space mission planned for 1992 and the Soviet 1994 mission.

According to Professor Vasili Moroz from the Institute of Space Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, American and Soviet scientists are discussing a possibility of installing some U.S.-made instruments, specifically, TV cameras, a spectrometer for the mineralogical mapping of the Mars surface and a radiometer for measuring the content of water vapour in the Mars atmosphere at the Soviet orbital station. The TV shooting of the Mars surface with a resolving power of up to several metres due to be obtained by Mars-observer will be needed when planning the landing of Soviet automated vehicles on that planet during the 1994-1996 expeditions.

"A manned expedition to Mars will be possible early in the coming century. It can be carried out only by the joint efforts of our two countries," Professor Moroz said.

China

Vietnamese Pullout From Cambodia Satisfies PRC

LD0801140889 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Beijing January 8 TASS—China is satisfied with Vietnam's decision to pull out its troops from Kampuchea by September 1989, China's Foreign Ministry spokesman said at a briefing here.

He said China welcomed Vietnam's statement on the troop withdrawal as a step forward.

The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops will help all countries concerned to reach an agreement on a total political settlement of the Kampuchean issue, the spokesman said.

PRC Restricts Movements of U.S. Diplomats

OW0601151989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 31 Dec 88

[Text] In the last month of 1988 a number of U.S. diplomats in China were very much embarrassed. This view was expressed by our station commentator Nikolayev. He wrote:

I do not know the names of the staff members of the U.S. General Consulates in Shenyang and Shanghai, much less do I know their plans for travel to some places in China, but I can tell you that some of their plans have been changed.

What happened is as follows:

Since the beginning of December the Chinese side has begun to place some restrictions on the movements of U.S. Consulate staff members in China. A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry officially told reporters about the matter at a news briefing in Beijing on 29 December. During the news briefing a U.S. reporter raised a question concerning the Chinese side's discrimination against staff members of the U.S. General Consulates in Shenyang and Shanghai. He was told that (?there was no discrimination against) U.S. diplomats. The spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry said that the United States had been discriminating against the People's Republic of China in the past few years. For example, restrictions had been placed on the travel of Chinese diplomats in the United States. The Chinese side had notified the U.S. Administration of this matter many times, but the issue had never been solved.

Moreover, the United States placed further restrictions on the movements of staff members of the Chinese General Consulate in Chicago in October this year, according to the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry. The Chinese side was compelled to adopt a corresponding measure.

The spokesman stressed that it is obvious that the situation was created by the U.S. action, adding that it is a regrettable matter. Can the situation be changed? The Chinese side is striving to solve the issue, but the U.S. side has not made any move to do so.

PRC Foreign Minister Speaks in Belgrade

LD0701180689 Moscow TASS in English 0713 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade January 7 TASS—Progress begins to show in solving a number of problems between the USSR and the People's Republic of China, and one can say that the process of normalisation of their relations has already started, said China's Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, now on a visit here.

He delivered a report on basic lines of China's foreign policy in conditions of the present-day international situation, at the Belgrade Centre of Strategic Studies on Friday.

Conditions have now been created for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China, and serious preparations for the visit have begun. Soviet-Chinese relations will be normal and good-neighbourly in the future, he said.

Touching upon Chinese-American relations, Qian Qichen said that they could have been more favourable, if there had been no Taiwan problem and if the non-interference principle had been observed.

China's foreign minister positively assessed the processes which are under way in the international scene. Peace and development are the main tendencies of our times. Dialogue is replacing confrontation and detente—tension, the report said. Peace forces have become more active. Their activities make one confident that durable peace can prevail in the world. If peace is preserved within the next ten years, the peace forces will become even more stabilised. Nevertheless the war danger has not yet been fully removed and therefore the struggle for peace should not be relaxed, said Qian Qichen.

Qian Qichen Television Interview

LD0701215189 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade January 8 TASS—The Soviet-Chinese summit meeting is possible in the first half of this year. This statement was made by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in an interview to Belgrade television which was broadcast on Saturday.

The minister said that as part of the preparations for the meeting of the Soviet and Chinese leaders, a visit to China by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was expected shortly after his own visit to Moscow.

Saying that the process of normalisation of Chinese-Soviet relations had started, Qian Qichen stressed that those relations should be different from the ones in the 1950s. Besides, the minister continued, they should not negatively affect the relations of the Soviet Union and China with other countries, but, on the contrary, serve peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world.

The foreign minister stressed that China attached great significance to the forthcoming non-aligned summit in Belgrade this year. Assessing the relations between China and Yugoslavia, he said they could serve as an example of friendly cooperation between socialist countries. China and Yugoslavia had much in common, Qian Qichen pointed out.

Northeast Asia

Leaders Express Condolences on Hirohito's Death

Gorbachev Cables Condolences

LD0701145389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1427 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan 7 (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has addressed the following telegram to His Majesty Emperor Akihito of Japan:

"Please, accept my condolences in connection with the death of His Majesty Emperor Hirohito of Japan. Let me express my deep sympathy to the people of Japan."

Ryzhkov Expresses Sorrow

LD0701211089 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, sent a message of condolences to Japan's Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita.

The head of the Soviet Government expressed his feelings of sorrow and condolences on the death of His Majesty Emperor Hirohito.

High Official Might Attend Funeral

OW0901112589 Tokyo KYODO in English 1102 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 9 KYODO—Tashtanbek Akhmatov, vice chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament), visited the Japanese Embassy in Moscow Monday and signed a condolence book opened after the death of Japanese Emperor Hirohito.

Vice Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, who visited the embassy with Akhmatov, said the government is considering sending a highly-placed official to Tokyo to attend the emperor's funeral scheduled for February 24.

Told by a reporter that the United States is expected to send new President George Bush to Tokyo for the funeral, Rogachev said the Soviet Government will take that into account in picking its representative for Tokyo.

U.S. Submarine Departure From Japan Reported

OW0601141089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] The U.S. nuclear-powered attack submarine Buffalo sailed out of a U.S. base in Yokosuka, Japan, into the Pacific today. Its destination is not known.

Buffalo-class submarines are equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles, which can carry nuclear warheads.

This nuclear-powered Buffalo docked in Yokosuka on 31 December last year. The Yokosuka port along with ports in Sasebo and elsewhere in Japan is used by vessels and submarines of the U.S. Seventh Fleet as a front line base for Asia-Pacific region.

Soviet Gymnastics Coaches To Work in ROK

SK0501100389 Seoul YONHAP in English 0943 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Seoul, Jan. 5 (OANA-YONHAP)—Three Soviet gymnastic coaches are likely to come to South Korea to train Korean gymnasts for the first time, a vernacular newspaper here said Thursday.

The USSR gymnastics federation has recently informed its Korean counterpart by telegram of its readiness to send three Soviet coaches and also asked the Korean side to provide information on obtaining visas, the KUKMIN ILBO reported.

The telegram follows an agreement reached by the sports ministers of the two countries last November when Korea's sports minister visited Moscow for talks on sports exchanges, the newspaper said.

Since the Seoul Olympics, the Korea gymnastic association has promoted the invitation of three Soviet gymnastic coaches including one for rhythmic gymnastics so that Korean gymnasts can learn world-class Soviet gymnastic techniques in preparation for the 1990 Beijing Asian Games and the 1992 Barcelona Summer Olympics, the paper said.

The coaches, if the visit is realized, are to be paid 3,000 U.S. dollars each for a three-month stint while a one-year contract is being considered for one of the trio, if necessary.

Nelli Kim, a Soviet gymnast of Korean descent who is also an Olympic gold medalist, is reportedly on the list of those to be invited.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Foreign Ministry 7 January Statement on Cambodia

LD0701175989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS)—The following USSR Foreign Ministry statement was issued here today:

A major new step has been taken toward the settlement of one of the most complex regional conflicts: that in Southeast Asia. At a festive meeting in Phnom Penh on 6 January to mark the 10th anniversary of the formation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK], the top leaders of Cambodia and Vietnam declared that, with the aim of speeding up a solution of the Cambodian problem, the two sides had agreed to a full withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia no later than September 1989, once a political settlement is reached. The full withdrawal of troops is intended to be accompanied by a cease-fire, a renunciation by foreign states of granting military aid and access to their territory to all opposing sides in Cambodia, and an end to interference in Cambodia's internal affairs. The agreement on a political settlement should be implemented under effective international control.

The Soviet Union welcomes and fully supports the new and important action by the PRK and the SRV, an action in line with a growing trend in contemporary world development: the solution of regional conflicts by political means. People's Kampuchea and Vietnam are once again demonstrating good will and their aspiration for a comprehensive settlement in Indochina on the basis of respect for the deeply rooted aspirations of the Cambodian people, taking into account realities in the region. The statement by the leaders of the two countries opens up the prospect of extinguishing this very year a hotbed of regional tension, and the Soviet Union believes that such a chance should not be missed.

All sides involved in the conflict and all interested states face the task—in all its magnitude—of ensuring that after the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia no fratricidal war flares up again there, and that there is no recurrence in any form whatsoever of the policy and practice of Pol Pot genocide.

As for the Soviet Union, it will continue in every way to assist a political settlement in this region of the globe. It is important that the new and constructive initiative by Cambodia and Vietnam evoke adequate steps in response by all who are genuinely committed to creating in Southeast Asia an atmosphere of peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation.

Biryukova, Delegation Attend Cambodian Celebration

Delegation Arrives in Phnom Penh

LD0401112189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] A Soviet party and state delegation headed by Comrade Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Phnom Penh today at the invitation of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and the republic's State Council.

The delegation will participate in celebrating the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Biryukova Addresses Public

LD0601161589 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Phnom Penh January 6 TASS—Streets of the capital of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are decorated with flags and streamers. Thousands of Phnom Penh residents dressed in their best throng traditional recreation areas—squares, parks and the Mekong embankment. Kampucheans are celebrating their most important holiday—the day of the country's liberation from the Pol Pot regime and the proclamation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

A celebration meeting of the Phnom Penh public was held here on this occasion. It was attended by workers, peasants, representatives of the growing section of Kampuchean intellectuals, servicemen of the People's Revolutionary Army, religious and public figures. Envoys of socialist and developing countries came to take part in the holiday of the Kampuchean people. A Soviet Party and State delegation is led by Aleksandra Biryukova, alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and deputy chairperson of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Commitee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, made a report on the results of ten years of the country's development, on Kampuchea's domestic and foreign policy and a course towards national reconciliation. He said that in the past 10 years under the guidance of the party and the government the unity of the Kampuchean working people had been very much consolidated. Despite all the intrigues of Pol Pot supporters and other Khmer reactionaries the Kampuchean people are confidently following the path of building a new life, he said. The Kampuchean leader expressed high appreciation of profound transformations and a policy of perestroyka and rejuvenation pursued in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and voiced full support for Soviet peace initiatives aimed at turning the Asia-Pacific region into a zone of peace and cooperation. Heng Samrin

described Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the U.N. as a great contribution to promoting mutual understanding of nations, the strengthening of peace and peaceful cooperation in the international arena.

The Kampuchean leader said that the Kampuchean and Vietnamese governments who wish to put into practice the national reconciliation policy as soon as possible agreed that in case of a political settlement of the conflict Vietnamese volunteers would be fully withdrawn from Kampuchea no later than by September 1989.

Aleksandra Biryukova, head of the Soviet Party and State delegation, addressed the Kampuchean people. She pointed to the accomplishments of the Kampuchean revolution, the strengthening of Kampuchea's friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and a constructive policy of national reconciliation. Biryukova said, among other things, that another major initiative put forward on Friday by the Kampuchean and Vietnamese leaders was in line with the principal trend of the present world development, namely, the settlement of regional conflicts by political means. The initiative is sure to promote the improvement of the situation in this turbulent part of the world and will be a practical manifestation of the two countries' goodwill.

The celebration meeting was addressed by the head of the Vietnamese, Lao, Cuban and Angolan delegations.

Television Reports Festivities

LD0601202089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A festive session devoted to the 10th anniversary of the liberation of Cambodia from the rule of the Pol Pot regime and the proclamation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] was held in Phnom Penh today.

The leaders of the party and government of the PRK, representatives of mass public organizations, and numerous guests from abroad, including a Soviet party and state delegation led by Comrade Biryukova, are present. Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia and chairman of the republic's State Council, is at the rostrum. He noted the successes that have been achieved by the Cambodian people over the past 10 years in all spheres of social and economic life, the strengthening of the country's defensive capability and the defense of revolutionary gains. Heng Samrin said that Cambodia is ready in conjunction with Vietnam and Laos to cooperate with the ASEAN countries and with all interested states in order to transform South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation. Proceeding from a striving to make a fresh contribution to the settlement of the Cambodian problem, the PRK and the SRV have reached an understanding that in the event of a political solution of the conflict Vietnamese volunteers will be fully withdrawn from Cambodia no later than September 1989. Moreover, the withdrawal of troops is due to be carried out under effective international verification.

Comrade Biryukova delivered greetings to the Cambodian people. She stressed that the new major initiatives put forward here today by the leaders of the PRK and the SRV open up additional opportunities for progress to be made, with account being taken of the interests of all the sides and states involved in the conflict. We consider, she said, that this concrete display of good will by the PRK and the SRV will be properly appraised and will call forth constructive steps in response.

The leaders of the PRK—Comrades Heng Samrin, Chea Sim, and Hun Sen—today received the Soviet party and state delegation led by Comrade Biryukova. During a friendly conversation there was discussion of matters relating to the further improvement of bilateral cooperation in all spheres and the development of interparty links. [video shows sides seated at table, those present including Heng Samrin and Biryukova]

The Soviet delegation placed a wreath at the monument to the fighters who fell struggling for Cambodia's freedom and independence.

Central Square Military Parade

LD0701144889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] The people of Cambodia, in a festive and holiday atmosphere, celebrate today the 10th anniversary of the founding of the republic. A military parade and a demonstration were held in the capital's Central Square. Cambodian party and government leaders, and foreign delegations, including a Soviet party and state delegation headed by Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, were on the rostrum.

Leadership Receives Delegation

LD0701182889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting has been held in Phonm Penh between the leadership of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] and the Soviet party and state delegation led by Comrade Biryukova. During the meeting, Heng Samrin noted that the Cambodian government intends to contribute to the search for a just solution to the Cambodian problem, with the aim of improving the situation in the region and worldwide.

The Cambodian leader wished the Soviet people success in implementing the targets set by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, supported the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy, particularly as it concerned the Asia-Pacific Ocean region, in addition to the peace initiatives contained in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations, and welcomed the development of the Soviet-Chinese dialogue.

In a reply speech, Comrade Biryukov stressed that the Soviet Union will continue to further the Cambodian settlement process. Comrade Biryukova handed over to the PRK leadership congratulations from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorabchev to the party, government, and people of the country on the occasion of the national holiday, and expressed confidence that the comprehensive relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the PRK, the CPSU and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, and the Soviet and Cambodian peoples will continue to develop successfully.

More on Leaders' Remarks at Meeeting

LD0801112589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1048 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Phnom Penh, 7 Jan (TASS)—A meeting has taken place here between the PRK leadership and the Soviet party-state delegation headed by A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Minsters, which is taking part in the celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of the PRK. Attending for the Cambodian side were Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP [Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee and chairman of the PRK Council of State; Hun Sen, member of the KPRP Central Committe Politburo, chairman of the Council of Minsters, and PRK minister of foreign affairs; Chea Sim, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PRK National Assembly; as well as (?Sar Kheng), candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the KPRP Central Committee.

On behalf of the KPRP, the state, and all the Cambodian people, Heng Samrin expressed deep gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee for sending the Soviet delegation to Cambodia and assessed this visit as evidence of the strengthening and developing relations of solidarity, friendship and all-around cooperation between the two parties, states, and peoples.

He noted that thanks to the tireless labor and huge efforts of the Army and party as well as the moral, material and political aid of fraternal countries and parties, People's Kampuchea has achieved notable successes in all spheres. The life of society is stabilizing, and revolutionary power is getting stronger both in the center and in the provinces. At the present time this revolutionary power is in a position to guarantee the independent implementation of socioeconomic tasks.

The PRK Government, Heng Samrin stressed, intends to contribute to the search for a fair solution to the Cambodian problem for the purposes of improving the situation in the region and in the world. This would be promoted by a settlement of the foreign and internal aspects of the conflict which should include the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, at the same time that measures are taken to prevent the restoration of the Pol Pot regime of genocide, a cease-fire, a halt to military aid for the opposing Khmer sides, noninterference in the internal affairs of the country, and the holding of national elections for the National Assembly. All these measures should be implemented under effective international supervision. In order to give impetus to this process a decision has been adopted jointly with the SRV on the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese troop contingent from Cambodia no later than September 1989, if a political settlement has been reached.

In conclusion, the Cambodian leader wished the Soviet people success in implementing the tasks set by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, supported the peace-loving foreign policy course of the USSR, particularly in relation to the Asia-Pacific region and the peace initiatives contained in the speech by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations, and welcomed the development of the Soviet-Chinese dialogue.

In her reply speech A.P. Biryukova gave a detailed account of the progress of the radical restructuring in all spheres of socioeconomic life in the USSR, and fulfilment of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. She informed them about the new procedures for elections to bodies of people's power, and the report-back and election campaign in the country's party organizations.

The Soviet guest expressed support for Cambodia's constructive foreign policy and the new major peace initiative of the PRK and the SRV, having stressed that the Soviet Union will continue to promote the process for a Cambodian settlement.

A.P. Biryukova passed on to the PRK leadership congratulations from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the party, government and people of Cambodia on the occasion of their national holiday, and expressed confidence tht the all-around relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the PRK, the CPSU and the KPRP, the Soviet and Cambodian peoples will develop successfully in the future too.

Biryukova, Heng Samrin Speak

PM0901103989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by PRAVDA and TASS special correspondents M. Domogatskikh, V. Novikov, and A. Smelyakov: "Festive Meeting in Phnom Penh"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 6 Jan—A festive meeting to mark the 10th anniversary of the PRK's formation was held in the Cambodian capital's Palace of Assemblies today.

The presidium included Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the PRK State Council; Hun Sen, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers; Chea Sim, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PRK National Assembly; other party and state leaders; and the heads of foreign delegations which have arrived for the festivities, among them A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee; and Kayson Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee.

Addressing the session, Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee, noted that the 7 January victory marked the beginning of a new page in the history of the Cambodian people's struggle, the dawn of the era of national independence and freedom.

For 10 years, despite all the intrigues by Pol Pot's men and other reactionary Khmer groupings, the PRK people have been confidently marching along the path of building the new life under the leadership of the party and the government.

The country's prestige in the international arena is rising. At present the PRK has relations with 36 countries and with numerous parties and national liberation movements.

In his speech the Cambodian leader highly appraised the profound transformations, restructuring, and reforms currently taking place in the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries. He emphasized that the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the UN General Assembly session represents a weighty contribution to the cause of strengthening mutual understanding among peoples.

Cambodia, together with Vietnam and Laos, is prepared to cooperate with the ASEAN countries in order to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, friendship, stability, and cooperation and thus make a contribution to the cause of peace in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world. Wishing to make their contribution to the settlement of the Cambodia problem, the PRK and the SRV reached an accord that, in the event of a political solution to the conflict, the Vietnamese volunteers will be fully withdrawn from Cambodia not later than September 1989. Moreover, the agreement must be implemented under effective international monitoring.

In her greetings message Soviet delegation head A.P. Biryukova said that the Soviet party and government delegation is cordially grateful to the KPRP and the PRK Government for the invitation to attend the festivities marking the national holiday on 7 January. Allow me, on behalf of the Soviet leadership and all Soviet people, to ardently congratulate you, Phnom Penh working people, and all fraternal Cambodian people, on your achievements in creating the necessary conditions for the rebirth of the Cambodian nation—achievements with which the PRK is celebrating its 10th anniversary!

The distance separating our countries might seem great. But Soviet people feel close to the Cambodian people's destiny and aspirations. We know how much suffering you had to endure along the difficult path. The terrible Pol Pot hurricane ravaged Cambodia. Tuolsleng [name as transliterated] Jail is a reminder of this. It is sinister evidence of the detestable policy of genocide for which there is and there can be no justification.

Of course we know that life is still not easy for you. Many extremely serious problems face the country. But when you see with your own eyes the newly built schools, hospitals, plants, factories, and temples which have risen from the ashes, when you see people engaged in creative labor and the children's faces, you realize how much has been done in these 10 years. This is tangible proof of what can be achieved by a people liberated from cruel and inhuman dictatorship, by a people yearning for a meaningful and peaceful life.

People in the Soviet Union follow with attention and comradely interest the progressive changes occurring in Cambodia and wholeheartedly wish your country's working people new achievements in implementing the course of all-around development of the country, enhancement of the people's living standards, and national reconciliation. We Soviet people are sincerely pleased that our efforts have also helped the Cambodian nation's historical rebirth. They can be seen in the new medical institutions, the power stations which supply people with electricity, and the tractors which now till the country's fields. The fact that Phnom Penh's residents today can watch television programs beamed directly from Moscow via a Soviet satellite is a kind of shining symbol of the closeness existing between our countries' peoples.

Our delegation has spent just 2 days on Cambodian soil. Everything we have seen here, the meetings we have had, and our conversations in the ancient city of Angkor and on the streets of Phnom Penh convince us that Soviet people's good deeds and feelings are widely reciprocated in the most diverse strata of Cambodian society.

We were profoundly touched by the fact that the Cambodian people responded with compassion to the natural disaster which recently hit the Land of the Soviets—the earthquake in Armenia. We are sincerely grateful to you for your support in our time of grief.

During our stay in Cambodia we saw for ourselves the tremendous interest generated in Cambodia by the revolutionary changes currently under way in the Soviet Union, which we call restructuring. Economic reform is

being implemented step by step. The political system is being renewed and is undergoing radical democratization. Elections to representative organs of power are being organized in a new fashion, on the broadest socialist base, and these organs' prestige and collaboration with the public are being substantially consolidated.

We are grateful to the Cambodian comrades for their high appraisal of our party's efforts aimed at leading Soviet society to a stage which would correspond with the renewed and most humane ideas of socialism, of the lofty dignity of the working man.

We note with gratification Cambodia's broad approval for the constructive foreign policy actively pursued by the Soviet Union and aimed at putting an end for ever, all over the world, to wars, inequality in international relations, hunger and poverty, and other disasters threatening mankind. New horizons opening up real paths to these noble universal goals were mapped out in M.S. Gorbachev's recent speech at the United Nations. People in the Soviet Union highly value the positive response to this speech all over the world.

There was also a broad international response to the package of constructive proposals—put forward in Vladivostok and given a new boost in Krasnoyarsk—whose objective is to transform the vast Asia-Pacific region into a region of peace, good-neighborliness, and mutually advantageous cooperation through efforts by all states located here.

The efforts made by people's Cambodia jointly with Vietnam and Laos to normalize the situation in Southeast Asia make their contribution to the attainment of these noble goals. We welcome the establishment of political dialogue and cooperation between the Indochina and ASEAN states and strive to actively assist this process.

It seems to us that the new major initiative put forward here today by the leaders of the PRK and the SRV runs along the tracks of the main trend in contemporary world development—the solution of regional conflicts by political means. This initiative will certainly help to improve the situation in this unsettled region. It offers additional opportunities for progress with due consideration for the interests of all sides and states involved in the conflict. We assume that this specific display of goodwill by the PRK and the SRV will be assessed on its merit and will prompt constructive steps in response.

By word and deed alike, our country actively supports the PRK Government's constructive course of national reconciliation and strives to do all within its power and capability to assist this process.

The Soviet Union is a champion of a peaceful settlement of the Cambodia problem which would take into account the fundamental interests of the Cambodian people and the political realities existing in the region. Moreover, people in the USSR, like the entire world community, proceed from the premise that the Cambodians must of course decide their destiny and their future by themselves. This is, after all, their sovereign right. And we support the substantiated viewpoint, the constructive stance that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the PRK, the prevention of a recurrence of Pol Pot's genocide, and the cessation of all outside interference in Cambodia's internal affairs are all interlinked key questions of a Cambodian settlement.

The Soviet Union is prepared, together with other interested countries, to act as guarantor of any future accords within the framework of a political settlement of the Cambodia problem.

Here I would like to specially mention another important factor. It is our belief that the strengthening of the cause of peace and development throughout the Asia-Pacific region and on the broadest international scale could be greatly furthered by a complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and the establishment of good-neighborly relations between the Indochina countries and the PRC.

We are well aware that the Cambodian people still have to solve some highly complex tasks along the path of further development. But we are convinced that, relying on all you have achieved during the past 10 years, on the solidarity of Indochina's peoples, and on the Soviet Union and other states friendly to people's Cambodia, you will manage to overcome all trials and will confidently lead the country onto the stable path of free and independent development, peaceful progress, and prosperity.

Allow me on this festive day to wholeheartedly wish the Cambodian people, the KPRP, all workers and peasants, the working intelligentsia, Armed Forces servicemen, and your ancient country's women, men, and young people new successes in the cause of the motherland's national rebirth. May every Cambodian home know happiness and prosperity as lasting and wonderful as ancient Angkor Wat.

Biryukova, Delegation Depart

LD0801201789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1207 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Phnom Penh, 8 Jan (TASS)—A Soviet party and state delegation, led by A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, which took part in the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the formation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, has left for home.

During its stay in Cambodia, the delegation was received by the Cambodian leadership and visited the higher technical institute of Cambodian-Soviet friendship, the

Tuolsleng [spelling as received] Museum to the victims of genocide, the Angkor-Wat Temple complex, a bazaar, and a number of state trade enterprises.

The delegation was seen off at the capital's airport by Chea Sim, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] of Kampuchea and chairman of the National Assembly of the PRK; Bou Thang and Chea Soth, members of the politburo of the KPRP Central Committee and vice-chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the PRK; Mat Ly, member of the Politburo of the KPRP Central Committee; and Sar Kheng and Nguon Nhel, candidate members of the Politburo of the KPRP Central Committee. Among those saying farewell was R.L. Khamidulin, the USSR ambassador in the PRK.

Delegation Arrives Back in Moscow

LD0901092689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0850 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS)—A Soviet party and government delegation headed by Aleksandra Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, returned to Moscow from Cambodia today. The delegation was taking part in celebrations to mark the 10th anniversary of the declaration of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. At the airport the delegation was met by Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and by other officials.

Near East & South Asia

Further on Vorontsov Visit to Pakistan, Iran

Vorontsov Delivers Gorbachev Message

LD0801065888 Moscow TASS in English 0640 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Islamabad January 8 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, met with Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto here on Saturday and handed in to her a message of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The sides had a detailed exchange of views on prospects of Soviet-Pakistani relations and a number of international issues of mutual interest.

The Soviet side expressed the Soviet Union's wish to develop trade and economic cooperation and consolidate interaction on urgent international issues with Pakistan.

For her part, Benazir Bhutto pointed out that Pakistan was interested in further promotion of mutual understanding and cooperation with the Soviet Union in various fields.

The sides also discussed the possibility of carrying out several economic projects in Pakistan with Soviet assistance.

Yuliy Vorontsov and Benazir Bhutto considered possible ways to settle the Afghan problem which is still marring Soviet-Pakistani relations. The Soviet side emphasised that continuing bloodshed in Afghanistan was hindering the restoration of normal life of millions of people, including in Pakistan itself, and was affecting negatively not only the situation in the region but in the whole world. The Soviet ambassador set forth the Soviet Union's position on the whole range of issues concerning the Afghan settlement and emphasised specifically the need to cease fire which would become a turning point in resolving the Afghan issue. Pakistani prime minister was also informed of President Najibullah's proposal to meet representatives of all Afghan political groups and forces so that to lay down the foundation for a broad coalition government.

The Pakistani prime minister voiced her country's intention to exert every effort to ensure a constructive and honorable settlement in Afghanistan.

In this context, the sides discussed political steps which could lead to the earliest creation of a broad coalition government in Afghanistan. Both sides recognised as useful the idea of convening shortly a meeting of a consultative group, comprising representatives of all Afghan political forces and groups. They stressed the need for prompt and vigorous actions.

Yuliy Vorontsov and Prime Minister Bhutto expressed mutual interest in continuing to promote contacts at all levels to strengthen interaction and mutual understanding of both countries in international issue and the whole range of bilateral relations.

Holds News Briefing

LD0801093789 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Islamabad January 8 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov and Humayun Khan, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR and Pakistan, gave a joint news conference here on Saturday.

During his three-day visit to Pakistan, Vorontsov had meetings with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and held talks with Pakistani Foreign Minister Yakub Khan.

The meetings and talks centered on a settlement of the Afghan problem and on bilateral Soviet-Pakistani relations.

Besides this, the Soviet deputy minister had talks with representatives of the Afghan armed opposition based in Pakistan and Iran.

Addressing the news conference, the Soviet representative called his talks with the Pakistani side positive and useful.

Touching on a settlement in Afghanistan, Vorontsov regretted the fact that the armed opposition had rejected the proposal by the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union to cease fire beginning on January 1. As a result, hostilities continue causing bloodshed and civilian casualties.

A rejection of the cease-fire proposal, Vorontsov said, means that the leaders of the "Alliance of the Seven" will be responsible for every Afghan who may be killed in the hostilities.

There can be no military solution to the Afghan problem in the current situation, the Soviet representative contended. Only a political settlement is possible through the formation of a government on a broad basis with all political forces involved in the conflict taking part.

In this context, Vorontsov spoke favourably of the armed opposition's proposal that a consultative council be created to run the country in the period following the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

However, the council should represent all strata of Afghan society, including the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, he insisted. "If the council represents just one side, the situation will remain as it is".

The current Afghan Government is prepared to share power with all the interested political forces and virtually establish a new regime in Afghanistan, Vorontsov emphasized.

But this would be possible only on condition that government representatives enter the would-be government formed on a broad basis, he pointed out.

Former King Muhhamad Zahir Shah could also play a prominent role in Afghanistan's future political set-up, the Soviet diplomat added.

Asked if the Soviet Union could suspend the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan, the first deputy minister said that he "could imagine a situation like that. If violations of the Geneva accords and hostilities in Afghanistan continue, it will be difficult to complete the withdrawal. If attacked, the outgoing Soviet troops will be forced to strike back to defend themselves, rather than continue on their way home".

Vorontsov said he was confident that the present Afghan Government would hold out and emphasized that the USSR would continue its assistance to it even after the Soviet troops had returned home.

According to Vorontsov, the Soviet side is willing to continue a dialogue with the armed opposition to search for ways of settling the Afghan problem. For that purpose, the armed opposition has been invited to send its representatives to Moscow to continue negotiations.

Summing up the results of his visits to Tehran and Islamabad, Vorontsov said that all the three of Afghanistan's neighbours, the USSR, Iran and Pakistan, shared a common approach to a settlement in Afghanistan, as he [word indistinct] all the three were in favour of a political settlement.

At the same time, the first deputy minister pointed to violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan and the United States. Besides, Pakistan has not honoured its commitment under the accords to form joint Pakistani-Afghan commissions to repatriate Afghan refugees.

Pakistan's first deputy foreign minister denied the charges against his country. He assessed the Soviet-Pakistani meetings as generally positive and useful.

PRAVDA on Briefing

PM0901114789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "News Conference in Islamabad"]

[Text] Islamabad, 8 Jan—Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, and Humayun Khan, Pakistani first deputy foreign minister, held a joint news conference here on Saturday.

Addressing the news conference, the Soviet representative stated that his talks with the Pakistani side were positive and useful. Concerning an Afghan settlement, Yu.M. Vorontsov voiced regret that the armed opposition did not accept the Afghan and Soviet proposals on a cease-fire as of 1 January and are continuing combat actions. As a result of this, blood continues to be shed in Afghanistan and civilians are dying. He said that by rejecting the cease-fire proposal, the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" are assuming responsibility for the death of every Afghan who dies as a result of the continuing combat actions.

Yu.M. Vorontsov pointed out that in the prevailing conditions there can be no military solution of the Afghan problem, which can only be solved by political means—through the creation of a broad-based government with the participation of all the political forces involved in the conflict. In this connection the Soviet representative reacted positively to the idea of setting up a consultative council which would run the country in the period after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. At the same time, he stressed that the council would include representatives of all strata of Afghan society, including the PDPA. "If the council represents only one side the situation will not change," he pointed out.

Yu.M. Vorontsov stressed that the present Afghan Government is willing to set up, essentially, a new, coalition regime in Afghanistan. But this is possible only if its representatives are included in the broad-based government. He also stressed that former King Zahir Shah could play an important part in the setting up of the future political system in Afghanistan.

The Soviet representative expressed confidence that if the opposition fails to accept a compromise political settlement and continues the war, the present Afghan Government will stand its ground, noting that the USSR would then continue to provide assistance after the withdrawal of its troops. He announced that the Soviet side is willing to continue the dialogue with the armed opposition in the search for ways of settling the Afghan problem. To that end representatives of the armed opoposition have been invited to Moscow to conduct further talks.

Talking about the results of his visits to Tehran and Islamabad, Yu.M. Vorontsov said that all the countries bordering on Afghanistan—the USSR, Iran, and Pakistan—have a common view of ways of solving the Afghan problem. He said that he had the impression that Iran and Pakistan, like the Soviet Union, support a political settlement. At the same time, he remarked on the violations of the Geneva agreements on the part of Pakistan and the United States. Pakistan has also failed to meet its commitments under these accords on the creation of joint Pakistani-Afghan commissions on the repatriation of Afghan refugees.

The Pakistani first deputy foreign minister did not accept the accusations leveled at his country. By and large he assessed the Soviet-Pakistani meetings as positive and useful.

Moscow TV Rounds Up Activities

LD0801200089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; M. Leshchinskiy report]

[Text] [Leshchinskiy] A Soviet delegation led by Comrade Vorontsov has ended a visit to Pakistan. [video shows aerial view of Islamabad, presidential palace] This is how Islamabad looks from the heights of the foothills of the Himalayas surrounding the city. The city is less than 30 years old, but it has externally already acquired the features of a modern capital city, as it was indeed intended to be.

A Soviet delegation worked here for 4 days.

This is the presidential palace. Previously this was the residence of President Ziaul Haq, and now it is the apartments of Ghulam Ishaq Khan, newly elected president of Pakistan. [video shows Vorontsov meeting Pakistani president, Benazir Bhutto, Afghan representatives, in separate meetings]

Comrade Vorontsov was received by the president of Pakistan. Issues were discussed relating to cooperation between the two countries, the ways to settle the situation around Afghanistan, and the problems of establishing peace in the region. The same topics were at the focus of attention at a meeting with Benazir Bhutto, who recently became the first woman prime minister in the Islamic world. Two fresh rounds of negotiations with representatives of the Afghan opposition, headed by the present leader of the Alliance of Seven based in Pakistan, Professor Mojaddedi, occupied an important place in the course of the visit. True, this time eight opposition parties located in Iran were represented at the talks. [video shows Vorontsov news conference]

Summing up the results of the visit, Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov remarked at his news conference that this visit was a the continuation of the recent meetings and talks on the Afghan problems in Saudi Arabia, Rome, and Iran. He described them as a good start in the right direction. There is agreement among the Soviet Union, Pakistan, and Iran that no military way of resolving the Afghan conflict exists.

Unfortunately, still incomprehensible is the unwillingness of the Afghan opposition to cease fire and start forming a government on a broad basis, which Moscow and Kabul have repeatedly called on them to do. One gets the impression, Comrade Vorontsov stressed, that these people are living according to an old philosophy, or are simply frightened of political forms of the struggle for power. All the talk about an imminent and inevitable fall of the present Afghan Government as a result of the military actions of the opposition does not reflect reality: they are attempts to pass off the hoped for as the real.

[Begin recording] [Leshchinskiy at news conference] Yuliy Mikhaylovich, during the meetings with the mujahidin leaders was there discussion of future relations between the Soviet Union and the future regime of a Government in Afghanistan.

[Vorontsov] During our meetings with the leaders of the opposition, there was discussion of future relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan; furthermore, the Soviet Union stressed that these relations have in the past been friendly relations of cooperation, and we believe that in the future our relations should be the same. I should point out that the representatives of the oppositon responded in the same vein. They also believe that the same friendly relations should be continued between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan as have also been useful for the two countries in the past. [end recording]

Vorontsov Leaves Pakistan After Talks

LD0701195989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1905 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Islamabad, 7 Jan (TASS)—The visit by Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, to Pakistan has ended. During his stay in Islamabad, the Soviet representative met with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, and likewise held three rounds of talks with Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan. A solution to the Afghan problem and Soviet-Pakistan relations were central to the discussions. Yu.M. Vorontsov also met in Islamabad with a delegation of the Afghan armed opposition, which included both the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" led by Sebghatullah Mojadeddi which is based in Pakistan, and representatives of the "Eight-Party Alliance" which operates from the territory of Iran.

This evening Yu.M. Vorontsov flew home. He was seen off at the airport by Humayun Khan, Pakistani first deputy foreign, and also by Viktor Yakunin, ambassador of the USSR to Pakistan.

Commentator Views Meetings

LD0801192189 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Stanislav Vasilyev commentary]

[Excerpts] Leading Soviet diplomat Yuliy Vorontsov has completed his trip to Iran and Pakistan. The trip was made in the framework of Soviet efforts to find a speedy resolution of the Afghan issue. [passage omitted] What are the results of the trip? Yuliy Vorontsov called them useful and positive. However, one has to acknowledge that so far there has not been a breakthrough in the Afghan settlement. More about that from Stanislav Vasilyev, and this is what he writes.

What is the reason for the current situation? First of all the leaders of the armed opposition still refuse to acknowledge the fact that it is impossible to resolve the Afghan issue without participation of all the political forces drawn into the conflict. Above all it is impossible to make progress without participation by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Otherwise nothing will change in the situation. Former Afghan King Zahir Shah could also play an important role in political settlement.

It is clear that the issue cannot be resolved by military means. It's time to stop the bloodshed and sit down for negotiations, to set up a new coalition government in the interests of the nation. Such is the position of the Kabul government, which is ready to find a negotiated settlement with the opposition. However, the armed opposition put forward the ide of setting up a consultative council which would govern the country after the Soviet troops' withdrawal.

But it opposes participation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. If the ruling Afghan is not represented there (?would it) become a broadbased government, which according to the United Nations General Assembly must be set up by the Afghan people?

The Soviet Union is ready to continue a dialogue with the Afghan armed opposition. Its representatives have been invited to Moscow for this purpose. This may represent a new stage in similar contacts held in Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Pakistan. The future will show if the new stage proves to be decisive. But so far bloodshed continues in Afghanistan. This cannot but cause deep pain. [passage omitted]

Further Protests to Pakistan on Arms Deliveries

LD0601193689 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 6 TASS—Afghan Army units have dealt blows at opposition groups which continue to shell populated localities and attack military garrisons. As a result of operations staged in the area of Tahtapul [name as received], the Qandahar Province, and the environs of the city of Tarin Kowt, the Oruzgan Province, dozens of rebels were killed, the BAKHTAR News Agency reports. A large amount of armaments, including heavy arms, were captured. Eleven arms caches were found. Combat operations took place in the Provinces of Paktia and Nangarhar where extremists lost in killed and wounded some 50 people. There was an Arab military adviser among the killed.

Different attitude to ceasefire announced by the Afghan leadership brought about contradictions among various opposition groups which led to bloody clashes which continued yesterday. The sides lost in killed and wounded some 80 people in the provinces of Parwan, Baghlan, Laghman and Faryab.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent to the U.N. observer mission in Kabul 173rd and 174th notes protesting against the continuing Pakistani arms deliveries to extremists.

TASS Updates Fighting in Afghanistan 7 Jan

LD0801133789 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 8 TASS—Hostilities continued in a number of Afghan provinces on Saturday, the BAKHTAR News Agency reports. In response to unprovoked attacks of extremists Afghan troops dealt blows at them in the Provinces of Nangarhar, Qandahar, Farah and Baghlan. Dozens of rebels were killed and wounded, the artillery fire destroyed several reinforced enemy positions. Attacks of opposition forces on the cities of Lashkar Gah and Girishk were repulsed in the Helmand Province. According to BAKHTAR, the Afghan Armed Forces are fighting only against those opposition groups which did not observe ceasefire from January 1 to January 5.

New internecine clashes between anti-government groups took place in the Provinces of Ghowr and Kabul. Some 30 people were killed and wounded in those clashes during a day.

According to reports reaching here, opposition forces continue their preparations for the expansion of hostilities. The strength of units of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" in Nangarhar was perceptibly increased. On the instruction of the party's headquarters in Peshawar, its detachments are being transferred from the Provinces of Konar and Laghman to Nangarhar. It became known that in Baghlan the rebels had begun to build reinforced positions close to the provincial centre for the purpose of using them as a starting point in the offensive. In western provinces anti-government groups are increasing pressure on tribal formations supporting the central power and are trying to draw them to their side. Numerous armed opposition detachments are concentrated in the Province of Herat, near security posts of the city of Herat and in the districts of Pashtun-Zargun, Shindand and Koshk.

Tense Situation in Afghanistan Continues

LD0801113089 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0942 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] It is now 1242 and we once more have a contribution from abroad to our Panorama program. The situation in Afghanistan remains tense. As we have already reported, Najibullah, the president of Afghanistan, has called on the opposition to cease fire. I ask Aleksandr Shkirando, our correspondent in Kabul, to tell us how events are developing.

[Shkirando] It would be wrong to say that the appeal has not had any effect on the opposition. Since the start of the new year, the opposition has not opened fire in half of the provinces of Afghanistan. There has not been any shelling of Kabul and the administrative centers of the province. As for the provinces adjacent to Pakistan, a tense situation continues there. In Nangarhar, for example, the armed formations of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan have increased their activity. A difficult situation also continues Qandahar Province where security posts are subjected to almost daily attacks.

For some months now, Kabul has been economically blockaded. the main roads, via which foodstuffs and essential goods are delivered to the capital, have been blocked off by the extremists. Consequently prices at the bazaars have increased several fold. There is an acute shortage of electricity, fuels, and lubricants. In various districts of Kabul, self-defense detachments are being formed from the ranks of workers and office employees. They are ready to defend their city from attacks by the extremists. And here is an opinion which Abdrachman, a member of one of those detachments, expressed in an interview to Soviet radio:

[Begin Abdrachman recording in vernacular fading into Russian translation] We are really tired of this senseless war. I think that those people who are continuing to wage it cannot be called people, never mind freedom fighters. [passage indistinct] They are hoping that after the final withdrawal of the Soviet troops, our government will immediately fall and they will automatically come to power. But judging by the examples of the provinces of Konduz, Bamian, and Konar, the Afghan people know what their power provides for—looting, violence, and murder. We cannot forget our best sons who over 10 years of warfare have given up their lives in the struggle for peace and calm for our compatriots. Now thousands of genuine patriots of Kabul and of other cities and provinces of the country are joining the self-defense detachments in order to defend the peace and honor of their near and dear. [end recording]

Al-Qadhdhafi Suggests Direct Talks With U.S.

LD0701215489 Moscow TASS in English 2117 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Tripoli January 7 TASS—Leader of the Libyan revolution Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi today urged the United States to have a political dialogue and to solve all contentious issues between it and the Libyan Jamahiriyah at the negotiating table.

Speaking before foreign and Libyan journalists he pointed out that the United States should realise that the policy of force, threats, terrorism, aircraft carriers and siege had failed. It should enter into direct talks with Libya, sit down at the negotiating table and put weapons aside so that peace could be established in the Mediterranean and in the world.

Al-Qadhdhafi expressed confidence that the George Bush administration was able to do that.

Bessmertnykh Meets Arab Envoys on Libyan Issue

LD0701182389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS)—Today Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received Ambassadors Muhammad 'Abd al-Uthman, of the Yemen Arab Republic; Mohamed Yala, of Algeria; Zuwali Suwaydan, of Libya; and Kuwaiti Charge d'Affaires M. al-Awadhi at their request.

The ambassadors conveyed a statement from the council of the heads of Arab diplomatic missions accredited to the USSR. The statement describes the actions of the U.S. Armed Forces which shot down two Libyan planes over international waters as leading to the undermining of peace and security in the Mediterranean region. The ambassadors condemned the escalation of U.S. threats against Libya and the assembling off its coast of a U.S. naval strike group which can be used for wide-scale aggression.

The Soviet side said that the heightening of tension and use of military force by the United States are unjustified and at variance with the efforts of the international community to find political solutions to international conflicts. It was stressed that the Soviet Union is taking active political and other steps aimed at not allowing a further escalation of the tension around Libya and in the Mediterranean as a whole.

The ambassadors of the Arab countries expressed their gratitude to the Soviet Union for its principled and firm stance in connection with these events.

Bessmertynkh, Iraqi Envoy Discuss Gulf Conflict

LD0701172289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1702 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS)—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, today received Sa'd 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal, Iraqi ambassador in Moscow, at the latter's request.

Issues related to settling the Iran-Iraq conflict and the state of affairs around Afghanistan were discussed.

Bovin Assesses U.S. Attitude to Palestinians

PM0701171189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Bovin "Political Observer's Opinion": "Palestinian Topics"]

[Excerpts] Just before the New Year, many of the world's newspapers asked politicians and journalists for their views on which events in the outgoing year were the most important and which events would determine the new year's shape. As far as I can recall, such assessments and forecasts in the last few years somehow managed to bypass the Near East. The deadlocked situation prevailing there, coupled with the absence of any substantial shift in the positions of interested sides, left little room for reflection.

But 1988 reminded people that no such thing as a permanent deadlock exists in politics. The PLO leadership's energetic activity unblocked the situation. And all the lists of last year's most important events that I have seen invariably mention the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council, which introduced fundamentally new elements in the entire package of Near East problems. [passage omitted]

On 14 December the U.S. President instructed the Department of State to "open a substantive dialogue" with the PLO. Substantiating this decision, the White House referred to the fact that the PLO has apparently finally accepted the conditions for dialogue formulated by the Americans back in 1975: To recognize UN Resolutions 242 and 338, to recognize Israel's right to exist, and to renounce terrorism. Since the PLO has done this, the United States is ready for constructive conversation. This does not mean that the United States recognizes the legality of the formation of an independent Palestinian state; Washington continues to advocate the "Jordanian option," in other words autonomy for Palestinians within the framework of Jordan. Of course, Washington goes all out to emphasize the immutability of its relations of alliance and the firmness of U.S. guarantees of Israel's security. But the very fact of direct and open conversation with the PLO was in itself a sensation. If the Americans are not frightened by their own boldness, Washington's turn toward reality could bring a settlement of the Near East conflict closer.

Assessing the situation as a whole, it ought to be admitted that the PLO's moderate wing headed by Y. 'Arafat has gained a major victory. About 100 countries have already recognized the new state. There has been high assessment of 'Arafat's realism, of his persistent striving for a political solution of the question, and of his course of seeking compromise interim solutions as long as they would benefit the Palestinian people and would advance long-term goals. There have been numerous difficulties along this path, right up to a split within the PLO.

The difficulties remain to this day. "We also have our own 'Likuds,'" PLO leader Abu Iyad declared. Colonel Abu Musa, leader of militant radicals who have split Fatah, the PLO's most influential group, described 'Arafat's Geneva speech as "treacherous" and called for armed struggle against Israel. A "Preparatory Committee" was formed in Damascus to initiate the procedure for forming a new PLO leadership. Syria and Libya are speaking out sharply against 'Arafat's policy. Insisting upon the inadmissibility of "Palestine's division," Tehran calls for surgical excision of the "cancerous growth" of Zionism. Even solid Palestinian organizations like the National Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which attended the Algiers session and adopted its decisions [prinyali yeye resheniya], seem to have had second thoughts and have suddenly started warning "the PLO right wing" against possible "concessions." Even though it has been known for a long time that concessions to common sense harm only those who refuse to make them....

Israel has taken a stance of total rejection of any sensible approaches toward political settlement. Prior to the November elections to the Knesset, there were hopes that a victory by the Ma'arakh bloc would enable Israel to review its policy and abandon fruitless stereotypes. The hopes were not justified. The Labor Party was defeated for the fourth time running. The influence of religious-fundamentalist parties was strengthened. Likud is dominant in the coalition government. Consequently, Tel Aviv continues to categorically deny the Palestinians' right to have their own state. Politics, like always, flouts logic. A state whose juridical basis of existence is provided by UN Resolution 181 denies the Palestinians' right to appeal to that resolution. No statute of limitations applies here. As far as borders are concerned, this is not so much a question of principle as a question of future talks. Provided, of course, that Israel does not intend to revert to the boundaries defined by the UN resolution.

The shift in the U.S. position and the start of direct contacts between the U.S. Administration and the PLO cause confusion and shock in Tel Aviv. Even though the United States did not recognize the Palestinian state ("it simply does not exist," R. Reagan remarked), Israel is clearly afraid that the PLO's flexible course and the pressure by world public opinion would widen the gap between the United States and Israel.

In this context it is impossible to overlook the fact that the "war of nerves" which the United States launched against Libya was welcomed in Tel Aviv like a godsend. People there realize that the anti-Libyan adventure being prepared by Washington will certainly complicate Soviet-U.S. relations, will aggravate U.S. relations with the Arab world, and will make further contacts between the Americans and the PLO more difficult. Which will, correspondingly, expand Israel's opportunities to maneuver and vigorously pursue its line in Near East affairs.

Attempting to somehow ease the pressure, Israel's government is preparing its own plan for settlement. It is based on the old idea of administrative autonomy for Palestinians on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The new element is provided by autonomy "under U.S. and USSR auspices." Not a single word about terminating the occupation. Not a single word about international conference and talks with the PLO. Not a single word about the Palestinians' right to self-determination. All this, to put is as mildly as possible, is simply not serious.

Meanwhile, for more than a year now, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are in the grips of "Intifadah." The Arabs are throwing stones but are being killed by bullets. The Israelis are stronger. They know this and take advantage of it. They have done so for 4 decades now. This is, if you like, a dangerous security, a security that builds up and augments the threat. The danger can be eliminated only by mutual security based on accord that is acceptable to all, on balance of interests and cooperation. The PLO has already realized this. Israel's ruling circles either have not yet realized it or are unwilling to realize it. That is the problem.

Comparison of Report on Middle East Delegation

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 26 December 1989 carries in its Morning Edition on page 3 an unattributed report on a USSR parliamentary delegation's visit to the Middle East, entitled "Interparliamentary Links." Comparison of the IZVESTIYA item with the Moscow TASS International Russian version, published in the 30 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 26-27, reveals the following variations:

Page 26

Column a

Paragraph one, last sentence reads in IZVESTIYA: ...forestry, and V.K. Kiktenko, a deputy to... (correcting name)

Paragraph two, last sentence reads in IZVESTIYA: ...Syrian foreign minister.

In Amman the Soviet parliamentarians were received by King Husayn of Jordan, Prime Minister Z. al-Rifa'i, and Crown Prince Hasan. There were talks with Senate President A.K. al-Louzi.

The delegation met... (picking up third paragraph and adding paragraph)

Column b

Fourth paragraph, first sentence reads in IZVESTIYA: ...satisfaction with the end of the war between Iran and Iraq... (rewording and correcting "was" to "war")

Correction to Report on Afghan Peace Moves

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Moves Toward Peace in Afghanistan Discussed," published in the 4 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 24:

Column a

Last paragraph, only sentence reads: ...on Afghanistan are not marked by total similarity in their appraisals of the... (rewording)

Column b

Last paragraph, first sentence reads: Well, when things are put like that and when they intend to decide the question of the future of the Afghan people in Washington, the words of the U.S. President about the right of the Afghan people to express their will freely will remain only words in... (rewording)

East Europe

Maslyukov Meets With CSSR State Planning Chief

PM0901091589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Yu. D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, received 6 January B. Urban, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the CSSR State Planning Commission.

During the conversation, which was held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual underestanding, there was a frank exchange of opinions on the economic problems being solved in both countries at the present stage and on questions of deepening economic cooperation during the stage to come.

CSSR Ambassador to the USSR J. Rehorek took part in the conversation.

CTK on Meeting

LD0601210489 Prague CTK in English 1951 GMT
6 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow Jan 6 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Bohumil Urban met here today with Soviet First Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Committee Yuriy Maslyukov. They evaluated the results of the final work on a conception of Soviet-Czechoslovak economic and scientific-technological cooperation for the next 15-20 years, and the course and results of coordination of the two countries' national economic plans for 1991-95.

The chairmen of the two countries' central planning bodies emphasized the need to preserve continuity in bilateral economic relations and at the same time gradually enforce some structural changes. One of the decisive factors is broad development of direct contacts and establishment of joint ventures.

Bohumil Urban left Moscow later in the day.

Polish Decision To Cut Military Spending Noted

PM0601165989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by own correspondent L. Toporkov: "Poland Cuts Military Budget"]

[Text] Warsaw—At the end of last year the Polish Defense Committee adopted a decision on reorganizing the Armed Forces and measures aimed at reducing the military budget. In an interview granted to PAP, Army General F. Siwicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish national defense minister, commented in detail on this decision and the philosophy of disarmament and defensive doctrine by which Poland, the Soviet Union, and all the socialist community countries are guided.

Important changes have recently taken place in the republic's Armed Forces, the minister emphasized. Two mechanized divisions and several other military units, including aviation and artillery units, have been disbanded. As a result the Army has been reduced by almost 15,000 men and a considerable number of aircraft, tanks, artillery pieces, and other equipment have been decommissioned.

The planned reduction in the military budget—from 7.7 percent to 5.5 percent of the overall state budget—is appreciable. It is planned to allocate Z954 billion to the Ministry of National Defense for 1989. Is this a large or small amount? The following figures may be used for comparison: State subsidies for the production of milk and dairy products alone this year come to Z952 billion. Health care and social security receive Z1,380 billion, and education gets Z1,040 billion. Expenditures on military needs seem modest in this context. Finally, the following important fact should be noted: The defense industry will begin to use much of its capacities to produce goods for the market.

The revision of the structure of Poland's Armed Forces and reduction of the military budget, as Army General Siwicki pointed out, became possible as a result of qualitatively new phenomena and trends in the development of international relations. The active peace-making activity of the socialist countries and the special efforts of the Soviet Union, which helped strengthen dialogue between the two military-political groupings, had a considerable influence on them. The distrust built up over the years is gradually being overcome. The Soviet-U.S. accords in the disarmament sphere have played a large role here. As M.S. Gorbachev said recently from the UN rostrum when he declared a major unilateral reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces, the Warsaw Pact states are giving tangible proof of their true peaceful intentions.

Against this background the decision by the Polish Defense Committee is very notable. Commenting on it and the interview given by the Polish national defense minister, the local mass media stress the significance of the "Jaruzelski plan," which envisages the need to reduce operational-tactical kinds of nuclear weapons and also conventional weapons.

At the same time, it is noted in Poland that the defensive nature of our joint military doctrine and the unilateral steps leading to disarmament do not mean that we have become less concerned about defending our own borders. The Polish national defense minister stressed in his interview that Poland is the only state in Europe whose western borders are still questioned by some people. The

republic must therefore possess the necessary defense potential and coordinate its defense plans with its allies. While the socialist countries state their peace plans clearly and unambiguously, are ready to eliminate the existing asymmetry in arms, and moreover are actually doing so, the NATO states have not yet abandoned the arms race, declare themselves advocates of a position-of-strength policy, and do not match the other side's example with equally notable deeds.

"Demonstrating our good will, guided by the new political thinking, and seeking to really reduce the danger of military confrontation," RZECZPOSPOLITA military observer A. Jurczynski said in conversation with your correspondent, "we decided to make the first moves in the only correct direction and spur the West to make similar decisions and actions. Europe is our common home, not an arsenal."

Polish Delegation Attends Belorussian Ceremony

AU0301214489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 88-1 Jan 89 pp 1,9

[Dispatch by "special correspondent": "70 Years of Soviet Belorussia"]

[Text] Minsk— On 30 December a special ceremonial session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia and the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR was held in Minsk and attended by the party aktiv.

The celebrations were attended by a PPR party-government delegation headed by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. The delegation included Vice Premier Janusz Patorski; Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bialystok; and Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, PPR consul general in Minsk.

During a session held on 30-31 December 1918, the Sixth North-West Conference of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) became the First Congress of the Communist Party of Belorussia (Bolshevik), and it was decided to establish a Belorussian state. On 1 January 1919 an appropriate resolution, proclaiming the establishment of a Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, was adopted by the provisional government of Belorussia. Soon after, the First Congress of Worker, Peasant, and Army Delegates was held in Minsk. It approved a constitution and a declaration on establishing a federal union with Soviet Russia.

That, in very brief terms, is how Soviet Belorussia came into being. However, during the session and in the report delivered by Yefrem Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, more was said about the present than about the past. It was noted that during the 7 decades since its establishment, Belorussia has been transformed into a highly developed, industrialized republic, in which the population's material and spiritual standard of living has risen greatly. The Minsk tractor factory, the Minsk truck factory, and the Gomel agricultural machinery factory are giant industrial plants that have been built under Soviet rule. However, at the same time, it was stressed that this wealth could produce significantly greater results. It was stated that the basic reserves that exist in Belorussia are people and their commitment to the implementation of reform. The introduction of new mechanisms—almost all of industry has been operating on the principles of economic accountability and self-financing since the beginning of this year—has made it possible to increase national income by 11.5 percent in 2 years.

Speaking about achievements, Y. Sokolov reminded the audience of those painful moments in history when a high price had to be paid for deviations from Leninist principles, violations of the democratic norms of life, arbitrariness and dogmatism, and other distortions.

Jozef Czyrek spoke at the ceremony and conveyed a message from Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, to the participants.

J. Czyrek said, among other things: History as well as being age-long neighbors has meant that the fate of our peoples has been closely intertwined. He stressed that Poland's recovery of independence and the establishment of the Belorussian SSR were closely linked to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Leninist policy that proclaimed the right of people to self-determination.

Speaking about the accomplishments and achievements of the Belorussian people in recent years, J.Czyrek pointed out that the proximity of the Belorussian and Polish people to one another and the fact that they are neighbors has made it easier for Poles to become aware of the enormous changes that are taking place in Belorussia. The partnership and mutual respect between Poland and Belorussia has brought to the fore the enduring value of the ties based on contacts extending over many centuries and the interaction of cultures and traditions that has enriched both peoples, and all this has created a favorable climate for the development of friendship and cooperation in all areas.

J. Czyrek also pointed out that Soviet peace policy, which is closely connected with the name of M. Gorbachev, enjoys support and respect in Poland. He mentioned cooperation in this area between Poland and the Belorussian SSR at the forum of the United Nations Organization and within the framework of 57 international organizations of which Belorussia is an active member.

During its visit to Minsk, the Polish delegation met the leadership of the republic: Y. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee;

Georgiy Tarazevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet; and Premier Mikhail Kovalev. They talked about the republic's achievements and the tasks that it faces connected with plans for the modernization of the economy and the democratization of public life.

J. Czyrek described problems connected with the implementation of the policy of renewal and national accord and outlined the course of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

The Polish delegation visited an exhibition of Belorussian national economic achievements and laid wreaths at the Lenin Statue and the Victory Monument.

SFRY's Dizdarevic Replies to Greetings

LD3112103488 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 2000 GMT 30 Dec 88

[Text] Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent a telegram to the Supreme Soviet Presidium. It says: On behalf of the SFRY Presidency and from myself personally, I cordially thank you for the greetings in connection with Republic Day. I (?express) thanks for the attention to our efforts in implementing the three reforms and the understanding that they, like the efforts of the Soviet people in implementing resolutions, are oriented toward the implementation of important social transformations for a better future. As is well known, the SFRY Presidency gives great attention to the maintenance and practice of a constant political dialogue at all levels between our countries, which not only serves to strengthen mutual understanding and friendship but also stimulates the cooperation which corresponds to the aspirations of both sides.

Allow me to use this opportunity to stress the importance of the visit this year to Yugoslavia by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the Yugoslav-Soviet declaration adopted on this occasion, which confirms the adherence to the jointly established principles in mutual relations. We profoundly believe that all this has opened up yet broader prospects for our cooperation, both in the bilateral sphere and in the international arena.

For my part, Raif Dizdarevic's telegram says, I send to the friendly people of the USSR my sincere wishes for further success and prosperity.

1989 Hungarian Economic Plan Reported, Assessed

PM0601154589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 31 Dec 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Toward Market System"]

[Text] Budapest, 30 Dec—The main national economic tasks for 1988 can be considered fulfilled—this is emphasized in the plan for the development of the Hungarian national economy for 1989 published here. The document notes that in the outgoing year there was a considerable slowing down in the growth of the country's debts, the balance of payments deficit in convertible currency was reduced, and the foreign trade balance improved.

At the same time it is pointed out that although the national economy's achievements in 1988 are substantial, they are not enough for the country's stable development.

The main aim of the plan for 1989 is the speediest creation of conditions for market economy management. In the forthcoming year the need to adapt the national economy to processes in the world economy and to implement the restructuring of the economic and production structure is advanced to the fore in Hungary. This should be promoted in particular by the extension of the competition system in export activity, the creation of joint enterprises, and the encouragement of foreign capital's participation in the country's economy.

West Europe

Yakovlev Attends German Communist Party Congress

Speaks at Congress

PM0901084989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the general "Ninth German Communist Party Congress" on A.N. Yakovlev's speech at the Ninth German Communist Party Congress in Frankfurt-am-Main entitled "Speech by A.N. Yakovlev"]

[Text] Frankfurt-am-Main, 6 Jan—At the evening meeting of the Ninth German Communist Party [DKP] Congress, which opened here today, Aleksandr Yakovlev, head of the CPSU delegation, made a speech. He said:

Dear Comrades!

Our parties are linked by common convictions and the goals of social progress, a joint struggle in the conditions of very hard trials assigned by history to the lot of Communists. This gives me the right and the honor to greet your congress in sincere and fraternal terms on behalf of Soviet Communists and the CPSU Central Committee.

We live at a crucial time of stormy renewal, of the transition of the world community to a disarmed and nonviolent world—if, of course, common sense takes the upper hand and humanity manages to leap toward a world where there is harmony and cooperation between rivals. The path into this future does not promise to be easy, but the lofty nobleness of the goal will reward any efforts.

There is no history outside human activity. Everything is in the hands of man: tragedies, the creations of genius, crimes, and charity. For several centuries now the working man has been hounded by hunger, poverty, unemployment, juvenile crime, exploitation, spiritual alienation, and many other ills produced by social injustice. But wars, the senseless expenditure of intelligence and labor on weaponry and the enrichment of a few, overtake man when he farms out his destiny to the play of circumstances shaped by the forces of self-interest—power or profit.

October 1917 opened an era of social emancipation and gave a powerful primordial impetus to freeing working people and the oppressed, and to profound changes in poltics, economics, education, and the pattern of life. Many of the slogans of the workers' movement that were put forward in the last century and the first half of the present century have been realized or almost realized. The fact that the world has now really changed and people are acquiring the opportunity to choose freely is greatly to the merit of socialism and the whole workers', communist, and general democratic movement, including German Communists and many of their outstanding leaders.

The material basis of mankind's existence has changed radically. The new stage of the scientific and technical revolution promises consequences that are still hidden from our knowledge. Radical changes are taking place in the social picture of the world, a world that is pluralist and composed of many strata, with a large number of transitional forms of social development and with a social structure that has become complicated. It is a world that is profoundly interdependent and interlinked. It is contradictory in the way that its difficult problems are interwoven, yet integral in its historical development.

In essence a new system of logical patterns of social development has come into being and is continuing to evolve. A fundamentally different structure of interests and priorities is taking shape. Interests that concern all mankind and that require joint, collective, and internationalist implementation have intruded into life in a commanding way and have manifested themselves powerfully.

In objective terms, such interests have always existed. Mankind, as K. Marx and F. Engels noted, is a single species. But it is only in the most recent decades that technical civilization has given rise both to common problems and common threats, the most dangerous of which are the threat of mutual nuclear extermination and the threat of ecological self-destruction. It is only now that the interests common to all mankind are beginning to be realized, primarily through their tragic dimensions. They have become a fundamental factor of evaluations of the policy of states and parties on a national and worldwide scale and a decisive criterion of this policy's humanity.

That does not, of course, mean that all other interests have suddenly vanished or been dissolved or that they are not declaring themselves irreconcilably and with burning urgency. But what collective or private interests can be beneficially realized now that they are being placed in opposition to the truly primary universal human need to survive?

The struggle to organize a new, democratic, and just world order that will guarantee mankind's survival and further progress—this, we are deeply convinced comrades, is a genuinely revolutionary task. Its scale and complexity, urgency, and significance have been convincingly substantiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech at the United Nations a month ago. The world of labor cannot fully liberate itself without freeing the world from the threat of self-destruction, and its conscience cannot be clear as long as a lethal nuclear sword hangs over the world.

It is logical and natural that, given present conditions, the implementation of the working peoples' class interests should take on new features and new characteristics. We have become well aware of this back home in the Soviet Union. Restructuring has been our response to the challenge of the times.

The social transformations in our country are a continuation of what was begun by Great October—the creation of a qualitatively new socialist society at a higher stage of development.

We take pride in the fact that in our country socialism has gained a firm footing and has built up an impressive development potential. But we did miss the moment when its increased and more complicated production forces required changes in social relations. We take pride in the fact that we have freed the workman from his humiliating dependence on private capital and his state, but we did prove unable to avert the process of man's alienation from property and power, which now has to be rectified and rectified decisively.

Restructuring, the start of which was made in March-April 1985, is a genuine revolution, but a revolution which is proceeding at the speed and according to the laws of evolution. It is a revolution in the form of deep reforms, revolutionary in their content, aimed at reviving the humanistic countenance of socialism and attaining its unshakeable goals in the name of the fundamental interests of the working people.

Of course, life in our country is boiling and giving rise to misguided passions and sometimes to excesses, too, with regard to both the past and the present. But there is not a shadow of selfabasement in our merciless selfevaluation by the criteria of truth. Being proud of what has been accomplished does not in any way mean closing our eyes to possibilities that were as though frozen for many years, to unresolved problems, to errors and deformations and, especially, to the tragedies of the past.

In the German language there is a concept that covers a lot: "overcoming the past" or, in Hegel's words, "denial of denial." Without taking into account the lessons of the past, without a knowledge of the truth in all its accomplishments and tragedies, not a single people and not a single public organism will be healthy or, what is more, insured against fatal relapses. Only those who study Marxism outside the realities that are happening and who do not bear direct responsibility for the fate of people can, by falling into self-deception, comfort themselves with the illusion that the infallibility of dogma is more important than development and higher than real life.

The socialist principle that restructuring is bringing forth anew is, of course, being tested not by its scholastic correspondence with canonized models, but by what it gives mankind, the working man, the people, the country, socialism, and human progress. As Mikhail Gorbachev said at the 19th party conference: "The Soviet people want a clear perspective. Full blooded, unqualified democracy. Legality without exception. Glasnost in everything—the great and the small. Fraternity and comradeship in relations. Respect for diligence and talent, for devoted service to one's job and one's public duty."

We Soviet Communists will go further along the path of socialist restructuring and of the affirmation of the people's power. We are the ruling party, and it is from us that most is demanded. Political responsibility, a critical and self-critical attitude, realism, and sober appraisal, modesty and non-acceptance of self-deception, sincere service to the people—these are the qualities that the historic test of restructuring calls for. It is a test which the CPSU set itself when it roused the people to revolutionary transformations.

It is clear from the speech by Herbert Mies that your party is also asking itself the question: What should we be doing in current conditions? That quest is of the greatest interest to us also. The CPSU is loyal to the principle that there are many roads to socialism, that the development of socialism itself can take many forms, and that we must create collectively on the basis of full glasnost, openness, and free discussions, which alone make it possible to achieve agreement on matters of principle. Serious constructive discussions among like-minded people always represent a purifying renewal and a highly important source of unity and development.

Capitalism is on the threshold of profound new changes. On three occasions in the past the bourgeois class got into a severe social panic: in October 1917, in the 1930's, and in the first decade after World War II. To give it its due, it knew how to draw conclusions from the new circumstances that had shaken its very existence. Nevertheless, many of the old problems of imperialism—especially on a global scale—have not been resolved to this day, and they have been joined by a multitude of new ones.

Changes that cannot be avoided are taking place under the influence of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in the growth of democratic sentiments, and of socialist ideas and practice. Not everything in the experience of contemporary capitalism fits into our former theoretical notions. The CPSU is also drawing lessons for itself from this. We are becoming convinced once again that a realistic, and thus dialectical analysis of the world and its development should be an indisputable rule. It was stressed at a recent meeting of our parties' leaders in Moscow that Communists cannot neglect an interpretation of social development on the basis of the new world processes. A need for exceptional approaches to theoretical studies and for nonstandard models and slogans is pressingly being felt.

The same thing was said in the party board report, in the pre-congress document. Since the moment of its inception, the struggle for freedom and democracy has been the life-giving water of communism. Yes, democracy is today the slogan that imparts movement to the whole world, it is a condition for its survival and progress, a genuine path to the future.

Of course there is no monopoly on democracy. But Communists do have their own unique role. This is to ensure consistency in the revolutionary struggle. It is the role of the poitical vanguard in the struggle for the expansion and consolidation of democratic orders, which are the sole reliable base for the establishment of genuine social justice and freedom. It is invariable readiness to correlate words and deeds with the interests of mankind as a whole, to measure them by the supreme criteria of humanism, to subordinate one's own strategy and tactics to a scientific, and therefore dynamically changing, vision of the world and of society and not to a rivalry of dogmas and egoisms.

Comrades! In recent years much has been done both in our country and in yours to impart a new quality to Soviet-West German relations. We attach great importance to them and want long-term improvements.

Communists of the FRG were among the first who even in the most difficult times of Soviet-West German relations struggled tirelessly to create a climate of trust between our countries, for the "new chapter" that all serious politicians are talking about now. In other words, there was an unforgettable contribution by the Communists of your country and the DPK in the new prospects that are opening up in interstate relations. Soviet Communists highly value your party's support for the destiny-bearing social reforms in our country, support that was voiced with such sincerity at your congress.

From the moment of the birth here, on German soil, of scientific socialism, Communists have stood at the sources of the great social prophecies and accomplishments that formed the contemporary world. Communists have always been at the cutting edge of the alarms and the calamities and problems of mankind that have come up. That is how it is! That is how it will continue to be!

Permit me, comrades, to wish your congress and all FRG Communists great successes in their activity for the well being of their people.

Aleksandr Yakovlev's speech was listened to with great attention by the participants and guests of the congress. He presented the forum of the West German Communists with a greeting and a gift from the CPSU Central Committee—a portrait of V.I. Lenin, the work of the artist Valeriy Khabarov.

Meets FRG Politicians

LD0701204589 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Frankfurt am Main January 7 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, who is leading a CPSU delegation to the 9th Congress of the German Communist Party, today had a meeting with Minister-President of Hessen Walter Wallmann.

During the conversation, the sides discussed various aspects of bilateral relations, including relations between individual regions.

Also today, Yakovlev made a trip to Trier, the birthplace of Karl Marx, and visited the home of the founder of scientific socialism which now houses a museum.

He also had a brief conversation with Minister-President of Rheinland-Pfalz Karl-Ludwig Wagner.

Appears on FRG Television

LD0801181289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1803 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Frankfurt-am-Main, 8 Jan (TASS)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who heads the delegation of the Soviet Communist Party to the Ninth Congress of the German Communist Party, took part in a televised debate today organized by the first program of West German television. He answered numerous questions from journalists about the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union and about aspects of Soviet foreign policy.

Yakovlev also met with representatives of the "Green" party and its group in the FRG Bundestag: H. Lippelt, M. Goraschek and E. Hueschtedt, [previous two names as received]. They exchanged views on a broad range of matters: disarmament, environmental protection, and construction of the "common European home." The meeting passed in a comradely atmosphere.

Genscher on Soviet Chemical Weapons Initiative

LD0901083289 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn January 9 TASS—The Soviet Union's intention to start liquidating chemical weapon stockpiles unilaterally is a substantial contribution to the achievement of a universal and complete prohibition of all types of lethal weapons. This was stated here by the FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The new Soviet initiative, he noted in an interview to the second programme of the West German television, is an inspiring step towards ridding mankind of chemical weapons.

Shcherbina Meets With Italians on Earthquake Aid
PM0901091389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met 6 January a delegation from Italy's Emilia-Romagna Region headed by L. Guerzoni, chairman of the regional government and member of the Italian Communist Party leadership. During the conversation they discussed questions concerning the provision of assistance in eliminating the conesquences of the earthquake in Armenia.

Latin America & Caribbean

Further Reports on Vorotnikov Activities in Cuba

Delegation Attends Reception

PM0901103389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS reports under the general heading: "Visiting Cuba"]

[Text] Havana, 4 Jan—An official reception was held at the Palace of the Revolution here on Tuesday in honor of the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban Revolution. It was attended by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and chairman of the republic's Councils of State and Ministers; other party and state leaders; veterans of the revolutionary movement; and representatives of Cuba's working people, as well as the foreign delegations in Havana for the celebrations and heads of the diplomatic missions accredited here.

The guests included a Soviet party and government delegation headed by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Cienfuegos, 4 Jan—On Tuesday the Soviet party and government delegation traveled to Cienfuegos Province, where it was acquainted with progress in the construction of the Juragua nuclear power station and the oil refinery in Cienfuegos city—major Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation projects. During meetings with leaders, engineers, and workers at those projects the delegation members asked about the course of construction and the living conditions for specialists.

In conversation with Soviet and Cuban specialists, V.I. Vorotnikov stressed the need to ensure that all the construction and installation work at the power station is completed to the highest possible standard.

The Soviet delegation head met with representatives of the collectives of Soviet specialists working in the province. He talked about the processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union and urgent foreign policy tasks and answered questions.

The Soviet delegation was accompanied on its tour of the province by Jaime Crombet, member of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee.

Vorotnikov Meets Castro

LD0601225589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent Yevgeniy Fateyev report from Havana]

[Text] This complex of modern buildings constructed in just 1 and ½ years has cast aside the usual view of Cuba as a developing country. Here, Cuba has achieved—and very successfully, too—a unique breakthrough into the future by being the first country in Latin America to create a major biotechnology and genetic engineering center. It is predicted that this field of science is one that, to a large extent, will determine man's life at the start of the 21st century.

The Akademgorodok center of Havana's geneticists and biologists was visited by the Soviet party and government delegation led by Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov. The delegation is in Cuba in connection with the celebrations to mark the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. As the center's management told their guests, cooperation between scientists and applied science staff is organized in such a way here that scientific ideas are translated into reality without delay and provide rapid returns for the national economy. This applies, above all, to the creaton of new medicines and various types of medical equipment. All the products of the Havana center are competitive on the world market. Noting the high standards of Cuban geneticists' work, Comrade Vorotnikov stressed that broad opportunities are presenting themselves in this area for joint activities among specialists from the USSR, Cuba, and the CEMA states.

We are now in Revolution Square. Here, in the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov was received by Fidel Castro Ruz. The meeting lasted for more than 3 hours and passed in the cordial and fraternal atmosphere characteristic of relations between our two countries. A principled assessment was made of Soviet-Cuban cooperation, which since the victory of the Cuban revolution has been expanding year by year. Comrade Vorotnikov informed Fidel Castro about the political and economic reforms being carried out in our country in the course of restructuring. The Cuban leader spoke about the problems being tackled in Cuba. During the conversation, individual aspects of the contemporary international situation were discussed. [video shows Vorotnikov in talks with Castro]

Tours Biotechnology Center

PM0901091189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on activities in Cuba of Soviet party and government delegation headed by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Cerntral Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, under general heading "Developing Ties"]

[Excerpt] Havana, 6 Jan—[passage omitted] On the same day [5 January], the Soviet party and government

delegation toured one of the Western Hemisphere's largest centers of biotechnology and genetic engineering in Havana. The delegation members made a commemorative entry in the scientific research center's Guests of Honor Book.

A meeting was held with employees of Soviet missions in Cuba, which was addressed by V.I. Vorotnikov. The delegation members replied to numerous questions by those attending.

Delegation Departs Cuba

LD0601180289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Havana, 6 Jan (TASS)—The Soviet Party and government delegation led by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which has been here at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC], the State Council, and the republic's Council of Ministers in connection with the celebrations on the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution, left for the USSR today. The delegation was seen off at the Jose Marti International Airport, Havana, by Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the PCC Central Committee, and other officials.

Among those at the airport was Yuriy Petrov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Cuba.

Met by Nikonov on Return

LD0701085089 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] The Soviet party and government delegation led by Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, returned to Moscow today from Havana. The delegation had been attending the celebrations marking the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution at the invitation of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and the Republic of Cuba's Councils of State and Ministers.

The delegation was met at the airport by Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

Ortega Condemns U.S. 'Anti-Libyan Campaign'

LD0701195689 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Managua January 7 TASS—The U.S. aggressive actions against Libya have been described by Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega as irresponsible adventurism. A message, addressed to leader of the Libyan revolution Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, which was distributed here last Friday, says that the downing of Libyan planes by American fighter planes is a new link in the Reagan administration's anti-Libyan campaign.

This provocation, which is a gross violation of international law norms, shows that the United States is continuing the course of suppressing peoples' struggle for freedom and sovereignty by force of arms. The incident with Libyan planes can have serious consequences for the whole of the Mediterranean area, said Daniel Ortega.

The message pledges solidarity with the Libyan people.

TASS Reports CIA 'Plan' Disrupted in Nicaragua

LD0401143889 Moscow TASS in English 0958 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Managua January 4 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov reports:

Units of the Sandinist People's Army and the Nicaraguan Ministry of the Interior have disrupted a U.S. Central Intelligence Agency plan to stage a number of acts of terrorism and subversion in the central region of Chontales. The plan included, among other things, attacks on agricultural cooperatives, the murder of peasant leaders, ambushes and the blowing up of fuel depots. The CIA's purpose was to give the impression that the mercenaries are a force which can still be regarded as an alternative to the revolutionary government and in this way secure continued financial backing from the U.S. Congress.

Fernando Caldera, spokesman of the Ministry of the Interior in the Fifth Military District of Nicaragua, told journalists that the CIA plan posed a real threat to the security of the population. This is why operations of the Sandinist People's Army and the Ministry of the Interior to eliminate Somoza terrorist did not run counter to the unilateral termination of offensive operations against the armed counterrevolutionary forces announced by the Sandinist government. The bandits attacked dozens of peasants and blew up 50 electricity pylons. They planned to attack the Sandinist army headquarters in Juigalpa, administrative centre of the Chontales region. However, they did not succeed in their plan.

As a result of the authorities' resolute actions, many bandits were taken prisoner. According to their testimony, the U.S. CIA ordered them to create groups of 5-10 people and surround Juigalpa in order to stage acts of terrorism and create an atmosphere of instability in that area. Fernando Caldera pointed out that although CIA criminal plans had been disrupted, the remaining contra groups still pose a threat to the civilian population.

A report of the Nicaraguan Defence Ministry circulated here last Tuesday said that a contra gang that had penetrated the Jinotega region in the north of Nicaragua

had attacked on January 2 an agricultural cooperative near the village of Vivili. Three civilians were killed, including a three-year-old girl. Another three people were gravely wounded.

Political & Social

Meeting of Science, Culture Figures Held 6 Jan

Gorbachev Address

PM0801192189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1-3, 4

[Speech delivered by M.S. Gorbachev at a 6 January meeting with scientists and cultural figures at the CPSU Central Committee; "To Build Up the Intellectual Potential of Restructuring"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Dear comrades!

On behalf of the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee, I would like to cordially welcome you, wish you a Happy New Year, and wish all of you together and each one of you individually great successes.

We invited representatives of our scientific and artistic intelligentsia to this first meeting of the year with one aim: to speak about what is most important for the country and society, which is now at a crucial stage in its development. Meetings such as this have become a regular occurance for us. Many of you have taken part in them. There have been meetings with workers, peasants, and representatives of science and the cultural front as a whole—and meetings with the press have perhaps been the most frequent of all.

This has all become common practice, a tradition. We are satisfied that these meetings have always been rich in content, and each one has been of no small significance. We have learned the opinions of our comrades on various issues of our life and their ideas about the future, and we have taken all this into account in our work. I hope that these meetings were also useful for those who took part in them.

There is one very important feature about our current meeting. The circumstances in which it is taking place are characterized by a broad unfolding of the restructuring processes. They are already embracing all spheres of our life, and are affecting millions of people and their interests. Restructuring is penetrating the very depths of the people's life, and has brought into effect the immense social forces and the potential which our country possesses. Perhaps we are only now truly understanding what restructuring is, and we can say with assurance that we have correctly named it a kind of revolution. Only now are we beginning to truly sense the newness and the acuteness of the problems, and, of course, the huge scale of the work to come. We can see what complex processes are happening in public awareness, in the minds of people. Everything that is happening now evokes an exceptionally lively and acute reaction, and exceptionally great interest by our people.

Much of what is happening makes us glad. However, one must also admit, to be fair, that much is also perturbing us. It is necessary to look into all this—and promptly at that—and to draw conclusions and learn lessons. It is necessary to interpret what has been happening so as to act with more assurance, knowing what we are doing , advance restructuring, and constantly remember that a great deal in the destiny of our people and our state depends on its success. Therefore, we plan a long, thorough, and serious conversation with you.

I would like to speak on some matters which, in our view, carry a fundamental significance. I would start, first of all, perhaps unexpectedly for you, with the nature of the discussions that have developed of late. We welcome the debates, and I consider it necessary to emphasize that immediately. We believe they must continue. It is another matter that in our country people have not yet mastered the standard of discussions, but I repeat that we welcome them, we are in favor of the discussions.

They make it possible to find out public opinion and the interests of different strata of society more fully, and to take them more fully into account, to support all the new and progressive things that are coming into our lives with restructuring; and at the same time to notice in time whatever negative phenomena and mistakes there may be and prevent them spreading.

We favor fruitful discussions. Without dramatizing the situation, I want to say that there is something worrying in the current discussions. I am convinced that we do not have the right to remain in the position of detached onlookers when, for example, voices are heard claiming that restructuring leads to chaos, license, and greed [vseyadnost] and alleging that it is a threat to the normal development of the country, saying that we have gone wrong not only in our definition of methods and ways to solve our tasks, but in the very choice and formulation of our goal. Already, little by little, one or two people are showing nostalgia for the "good old days," and one hears talk that the country needs a "firm hand." This mood not only is manifesting itself in the domain of emotions and feelings, but also is taking on certain philosophical and even political outlines.

The last 4 years show convincingly that our people are decisively in support of restructuring and the renewal of society on socialist principles. Yet there are people even here trying to sow the seeds of doubt. In some discussions the question is raised that the framework of socialism is too narrow for restructuring. Little by little the idea of political pluralism, multipartyism,, and even private property is cropping up. There is talk of the alleged impossibility of opening up the potential of socialism by way of restructuring. In this case, as in the other, this indicates a lack of faith in our system, our people, the party, and our socialist institutions.

Nor can I fail to mention that under the guise of glasnost attempts are being made to attack the CPSU, to attack the party which has drawn up and put forward restructuring, which is now leading the work of democratization and stimulating all the restructuring processes, and which is itself going through a profound renewal. At the same time it is performing a most important unifying and integrating role at this crucial stage in our country's development.

The attitude of the CPSU Central Committee—and I am convinced that this attitude reflects the dominant feeling in our society—is as follows: Such views, irrespective of the subjective reasons underlying them and of the pressure of circumstances giving rise to them, are fundamentally wrong and run counter to the interests of the people. In effect, they are directed against restructuring.

The party is being attacked by those who wish to wreck restructuring, to do a great deal of harm to it. I am deeply convinced that, on the whole, we have devised and are conducting the restructuring correctly. This is not my view alone. We must by no means depart from this path—of this I am also firmly convinced. We are very much in need of restructuring.

One should not, of course, be intoxicated by successes or exaggerate what has been achieved. But nor are there any grounds whatsoever for casting doubt on our choice, on the policy of renewing society; there are no grounds for pessimism, or despondency, let alone panic. Yet this is showing through in some discussions. We must proceed firmly and confidently, soberly weighing the emerging situation, and keep the long term clearly in view.

In general, comrades, in the tumultuous process of transformation, of eradicating obsolete forms of public life and past stereotypes in an atmosphere of dynamic change it is exceptionally important to maintain a sensible and realistic assessment of what is happening. Or, to be more precise, a dialectical approach to all the processes and complexities of the transitional period.

As I have already said, this process is not a simple one. It entails identifying ever new problems whose roots go back into the past, and uncovering their real acuteness. Really, we are coming to know the true acuteness of many problems only today. The machinery which applies the brakes on economic and socio-political development is being overcome with great difficulty. New problems arise continuously for which there is no easy solution. Errors and slips are possible here. For those to whom the fate of the people is not precious, who do not champion the people, this offers encouragement. Those people have only their own "restricted viewpoint" [kochka zreniya] and nothing else.

Nevertheless, although it is not without difficulties and contradictions, restructuring is advancing steadily. This is the main trend of the processes taking place: Restructuring is gathering force and advancing, it is becoming intensified in our transformations.

I would like to react to another rather widespread opinion which I believe to be mistaken: I have in mind the assertion by some comrades that we are conducting restructuring in the country, as it were, without a devised program, without knowing for what we are striving, and what we want.

I do not intend to persuade you that we have a theory and policy of restructuring which has been completely worked out in detail, that we have already made the necessary decisions on all of its practical aspects—even less do I intend to state that we have a complete picture of the society toward which we are proceeding, although we have not only set ourselves the goal of passing on through restructuring toward a qualitatively new state of socialist society but have already marked out the contours of such a society. Of course, much intellectual work lies ahead of us. We must continue to work out the concept of a new face for socialism , and we are engaged in this now.

It is essential—and this is entirely understandable and explicable—that we deepen knowledge in all directions of restructuring. But I want to say once again that assertions that we have no strategy or policy of restructuring are groundless.

It was precisely the working out of a theory and policy of restructuring that made up the main contents of its first stage. I would merely like to recall a few facts regarding this.

We began the in-depth analysis and principled assessment of the situation in which our society found itself in the mid-80's at the April plenum of the Central Committee in 1985. The task of accelerating social development as the antithesis to stagnation was then put foward. But I will go further and say that in itself the April plenum could only have taken place on the basis of vast preliminary work of previous years.

Within the party and, indeed, within society as a whole, including in science and culture, not only had the awareness of the necessity for changes come to a head, but also intensive interpretation was under way as to the ways in which to deal with this task. Otherwise how was the idea of the April plenum brought to fruition? We are materialists and dialecticians and we know that nothing comes from nothing or disappears without a trace. So, the appearance of restructuring trends in society was preceded by a specific period of analytical studies and moral assessments. All this was being prepared and was coming to a head within the party, in science and culture, and in broad social circles. It has to be said outright that a solid potential of fresh ideas was created. We could all sense that it was impossible to live as before.

Indeed, I personally, among others, had had occasion to meet many of you more than once and to discuss these matters well before the April Central Committee plenum.

[Addresses N.I. Ryzhkov] How many documents were worked out on the basis of these discussions, Nikolay Ivanovich?

[N.I. Ryzhkov] One hundred and ten.

[M.S. Gorbachev] Nikolay Ivanovich and I have 110 identical documents. All of them belong to a period when the April plenum was still a long way off. They are the conclusions of academicians, writers, prominent specialists, and public figures. The results of these discussions and their analysis formed the basis for the decisions of the April plenum and the first steps thereafter.

Here I must remind you that in June 1985 a conference on accelerating scientific and technical progress was held which played a large part in the interpretation of the tasks of restructuring and its development in practice. Would we have been able to hold a conference on such a cardinal issue immediately after April without the preceding work? In preparing for it, we used materials which were being drafted even in the pre-April period in preparation for a special Central Committee plenum devoted to questions of scientific and technical progress, and your obedient servant was confirmed as the rapporteur. But that plenum did not take place.

Working out the restructuring concept was taken into wider horizons in connection with the preparation for and holding of the 27th CPSU Congress. This enabled us, on behalf of the congress, to present to the Soviet people the main outline for a thoughtful integrated program for renewing society. The ideas of the Congress were given further concrete expression at the January (1987) Plenum of the Central Committee, where at the center of attention were questions about the role of the party, ways to achieve democratization, and cadre policy. Whatever the issue, an enormous problem!

The June plenum in the same year brought us to the concept of radical economic reform. An important role in the interpretation of our historic path was played by the October plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the documents linked with the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

This opened wide opportunities for our social science and especially for our historical sciences. In the context of implementing the political directives of the October Central Committee plenum, the Politburo Commission on Rehabilitation of Illegally Repressed Persons began work.

I cannot but mention, too, the February plenum of the CPSU Central Committee (1988), at which the question of the ideology of restructuring was raised on a broad scale, the topicality of which was confirmed by the subsequent development of our society.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference took us onto a new level of interpretation of all the processes of restructuring, and to the adoption on this basis of important political directives on instilling dynamism into the processes of renewal. The drawing up of the concept of reform of the political system is a major positive result of the party conference. The subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the report-back and election campaign in the party, and the forthcoming elections of people's deputies—these are practical steps in the renewal of the political system.

What I have said does not encompass all the work which has been set in motion in the party in connection with the discussion of the goals and ways of restructuring. These are merely the main landmarks of the large-scale work. The most important thing, comrades, is that, in effect, all society has taken part in the process of working out the strategy and policy of restructuring. The most important issues were submitted for nationwide discussion. Consequently, we have every reason to speak of the nationwide nature of forming the theory and policy of restructuring. This has absorbed all the experience and all the intellectual potential of our people.

I want to add a further proviso here: We are far from thinking that everything is already clear to us now. No, and no again! Not far from now we have plenums of the CPSU Central Committee on matters of agrarian policy, the concept of the country's long-term socio-economic development, and interethnic relations.

The formulation of the policy and the theory of restructuring has not been limited to just an internal framework. It has been logically transferred into our fresh outlooks on the world around us. Here again there were certain stages that led to what today we call the new political thinking, which has been put into practice in our foreign policy and which has produced great reverberations worldwide.

I shall venture to put a question directly to you: Does what has been spoken about really resemble blundering in the dark? Both in the development of a restructuring strategy and in its implementation there is clear logic and steadfast consistency. Therefore I think we ought to reject all the speculation that we supposedly have no idea where we are heading and what we are doing, and all of us ought to become actively involved in the further intensification and interpretation of restructuring, and in the constructive work to put the plans mapped out into practice. I think that would be the only correct conclusion.

Issues concerned with an assessment of the situation in the socio-economic sphere are now also at the center of societal discussions. What can I say about this? Many recent critical assessments of the situation that has arisen have been voiced by the people, the mass media, and a number of academics. This concerns the scarcity of

goods and foodstuffs, the lines, the housing problem, shortcomings in the service sphere, the public utilities, and other spheres that affect people's everyday lives. But things are not confined to criticism of shortcomings. People are linking this directly with restructuring, and are claiming that it is not yet producing anything in the economic and social sense, and that in many cases the situation has even deteriorated. Generally, then, we are talking about very serious matters. And this all requires earnest and profound analysis, and an objective and truthful assessment.

What is the actual state of affairs? It is all significantly more complicated, comrades, if one looks at the overall picture. With this in mind, I would like briefly to describe the processes taking place in the economy and the social sphere.

I will not cite a lot of figures characterizing the development of various sectors. I will say merely that, on the one hand, the past year was concluded with what were apparently good indicators. The rates of growth of the national income and labor productivity were higher than in the previous year and in the 11th Five Year Plan. The rates of growth of labor productivity were fairly significant which, as you will understand, is in itself most important.

Although slow, there have been profound changes in electronics and machine-building, though we are not fully satisfied with all this. Everything related to capital productivity, metal consumption, and so on is changing for the better. The production of food products and manufactured goods for the population has also grown, though not by as much as we would have liked. And then commodity circulation increased last year by an amount which has not been seen for many years. The sales of services to the population is growing at a rapid rate. Thus the level of consumption has increased in physical terms, as it were, as well as in per capita terms.

Restructuring is also having a positive influence on the development of the social sphere. After all, despite all the difficulties, despite the fact that the five year plan was already set, we found resources for medicine, for education and extra resources for increasing housing construction as well. For this reason, the commissioning of housing, preschool establishments, hospitals, polyclinics, clubs, and cultural centers continued in greater volumes than before. Of course, all this also is directly related to satisfying the urgent needs of the population.

It happens that there is now more of everything. But you are listening to me, and a question, naturally, comes to you: Where is all this? Why do the lines at the stores continue to exist and why is the shortage of many essential things not diminishing?

Now here, comrades, we are precisely getting to the key question of the current position in the economy—the financial state, monetary circulation, and the extent to which monetary resources and goods are in balance. The situation has not arisen suddenly. Probably, the most difficult legacy which we have received from the past is the deficit in the state budget with was painstakingly hidden from the public, but it actually existed. Of course, the deficit has a pernicious effect on the entire national economy. The inappropriate practice in many branches of the national economy of paying out money which was not actually earned has had a serious effect on the monetary circulation in the country. This had created colossal tension on the consumer market.

But how was the problem addressed? Through the prevailing level of oil prices and by increasing the volume of its sales, by boosting production of wines and spirits.

Unfortunately, we have not as yet managed to rectify the situation in the financial sphere and the circulation of money. The situation is even becoming exacerbated. This is also connected with the fall in oil prices on the world market, as a result of which we had a shortfall of R37 billion in receipts in the period 1985-88. There was a sharp fall in receipts and revenues from the sale of alcoholic beverages, as a result of which there was a shortfall in receipts over the same period of R49 billion. It is true, different opinions are expressed on this matter. Some consider that this is the result of a mistake on the part of the present leadership. I think this is an unfounded accusation. We can only speak of certain distortions in pursuing this policy, but the policy itself is correct. The roots of these mistakes go way back into the past, when things were rectified through the sales of wines and spirits and turning the people into drunkards. Look, drink-related breaches of the law and fatalities have gone down, and the situation in families, society, and places of production has improved. Others say that it seems as though discipline in the country has slackened. But the figures show that absenteeism and failure to report to work for one reason or another has gone down over this period by one-third.

To our losses there must of course be added unforeseen complications, such as the accident at Chernobyl AES. To this has now been added the earthquake in Armenia. What's the point of hiding it: We are also bearing large expenses in connection with the situation in Afghanistan. But I think that to give a fuller picture we have also to mention our own omissions. After all, we could have done more than we have done in order to change the situation for the better. I have already mentioned the quite high pace of growth in labor productivity—5.1 percent compared to last year.

Suffice it to say that in the last 20 years the monetary incomes of the population have grown faster than the production of goods. Such a situation is linked in considerable measure with major mistakes in investment policy, when resources were scattered among numerous installations, which led to an extension of schedules for introduction of capacities, and held back the pace of the

growth in the production of essential goods. Yes and, let us say it bluntly, many resources were directed to constructing installations for which there was simply no absolute need.

Mistakes of a strategic order were also committed, whereby over many decades due attention was not given to agriculture, light industry and the food industry, and the service sphere. It must be said that we had all long ago sensed the build-up of the problem in the economy, particularly in the consumer market.

Something else must also be said, however: Over the last year, wages have increased by 7 percent, that is, they have grown far more quickly than labor productivity. You can see for yourselves where this is leading.

We are dealing very slowly with tasks to introduce the necessary amendments to investment policy and bring order to capital construction. Let us be blunt: Things got off to a good start and then we showed weakness. This I attribute primarily to the central leadership. Not only did we not reduce the number of uncompleted facilities, we even allowed them to increase. Stock of material resources at enterprises are still large. And this is nothing other than the freezing of our national income. Of course, with all that has been said about the growth in consumer goods production, it has to be noted that plans for output of these goods have not been fulfilled and there are still not enough of them taking into account the critical situation on the market.

I think that we also have to put down to ourselves the fact that the economic reform has still not taken off properly. We did not thoroughly destroy the mechanisms of the expenditure-led economy. Proceeding just as slowly—and this is something we must recognize—is the adoption of efficient methods of management, primarily the transition to leasing, economic autonomy, and self-financing. These processes are still encountering resistence within society. For many people, the new position of the person in production is unfamiliar, as is the new nature of the link with property. After all, we want to deal a blow to alienation of the person from the means of production, to re-create in the worker a developed sense of being the owner, and to open up his potential as a person.

At the end of last year this entire package of issues was the subject of a most thorough discussion at a 2-day session of the Politburo, with the participation of members of the government and heads of planning and finance bodies and of a number of ministries and departments. We intend to continue this discussion when considering the year's results at an expanded session of the USSR Council of Ministers on 14 January. We also tried to find a well-grounded answer to the question of how we should proceed, how we should act in today's real situation in order to actively put into practice the principles of the radical economic reform and to overcome the negative phenomena in our economy. In this context I cannot fail to mention that 1989 will be, in this respect, a very important stage in the implementation of the radical economic reform. All material production sectors are being fully transferred to the principles of economic accountability and self-financing. This is no easy task, and we must act in such a way as to decisively remove all the obstacles hampering the development of the restructuring processes in the economy.

A great deal of thought has been devoted to the phenomena that have arisen in connection with the development of the cooperative movement and individual labor activity, and here too appropriate decisions have been drawn up. These are aimed, on the one hand, at providing the utmost support for the cooperative movement, while at the same time creating the necessary counterbalances against distortions in this important work. We have to operate more intelligently here. We have lost our experience of how to work with members of cooperatives. Yet there was a tremendous amount of such experience in the initial years of Soviet rule, and indeed in Russia in general. Even after the war, when there were producers' cooperatives, such experience existed. Now we have been forced to recall all this and, furthermore, to travel, both around the socialist countries and to Sweden and Norway to see how the cooperative mechanism operates there and how these processes are managed.

On the whole, comrades, we will do all of this. We are faced with fundamentally moving forward the processes connected with the development of scientific and technical progress. It is also intended here to implement stimulating measures in order to create an advantage for those labor collectives which have taken the path of modernization. An enterprise, no matter how it is drawn into modernization and into mastering new output and new technology, finds itself in a more difficult situation on the economic level. That means that not everything has been thought through to its conclusion in our mechanism.

We are currently preparing proposals on this subject. It must be admitted that we have not fully worked out a tax policy mechanism that would react flexibly to the economic situation and would stimulate those sectors and the actual kind of activity that is needed, and, on the other hand, would punish the greedy.

You read articles by journalists and economists on this question and it turns out that all the writers are revered critics, but somehow there are not many constructive proposals. This is our misfortune, and there is no need to blame anyone for it: Before there was no need for such proposals nor was there the social imperative. But if we want to live better and do things better, it means we must learn to think constructively.

Life shows that we have to speed up our changeover to wholesale trade, to direct links between enterprises. Our immediate concern is to create the necessary preconditions for a radical restructuring of economic relations

and social reorganization in the agrarian sector. The essence of our discussions on this subject is familiar to you, and I do not want to go into detail on this quesiton, all the more so because we have ahead of us a special plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on these problems.

In the discussion that has developed, the question of reform of price formation and review of prices has been raised particularly sharply. It must be said that this is one of the key fundamental quesitons of economic reform. Without a correct and scientifically founded solution for it, an up to date and effective economic machinery to combat the expenditure-led approach cannot be created. At the same time, the other aspect of this same question affects the situation of the working people.

What has discussion of this subject shown? First, that some comrades have managed to change their point of view two or three times in several months. I am not saying this as a reproach but to confirm how complex a question this is. As you can see, even experts cannot get to the core of the problem at all. Very many claims are being made against the center. People are asking why it remains silent. First of all, I want to say that the center does not remain silent. The principled position of the center on this is well known and it has not changed. We proceed from the premise that in resolving questions of price formation we must not permit a reduction in the standard of living of the working people. That is the main thing. Obviously the choice of the time and rate which the reforms of prices and price formation are carried out is very important to us. We are to consider all of this carefully—over what periods and at what rates this should be carried out.

I must say that all the talks about "maneuvers behind the scenes" by the center and all kinds of suspicions about the center, to the effect that it again wants to conduct this matter in secret and virtually deceive the people—this is all irresponsible speculation. But since the question concerns a very serious problem, I would say that some people ought to be reminded of the accountability of their opinions. It must simply be borne in mind that thorough work is now taking place and wide circles of scientists, specialists, and representatives of the public are taking part in it. When serious proposals on this score emerge, we will without fail submit them for nationwide discussion. These matters will not be resolved in secret. I wish to stress this once again with all responsibility.

The past year has also largely made clear the role of the center in solving problems of scientific-technical, structural, and financial policy. All these questions must be kept firmly in hand. The center must create by correct, scientifically founded decisions the legal and economic preconditions for rectifying the deformations which have been allowed to happen in the development of our economy, and for consistent implementation of the radical economic reform. As you understand, we are not talking here of command methods. No, while relying on knowledge, it is a matter of our seeing the objective processes and of our promptly taking decisions of a general economic nature.

We need a strong center. This is dictated by the character of our economy, by the federative character of the state. It is necessary to substantiate the deployment of production forces, for the harmonization of regional interests, for the development of the republics. Without the center, this could assume an undesirable nature, and that indeed is simply impossible. Here it is important to have a correct understanding of the dialectics of the correlation of the role of the center, and the initiative and independence of the localities.

If one is to speak practically, then the provision of a market balance and putting financial relations in order is the most urgent and acute task of the center. Practice shows that we possibly cannot avoid here some fairly sharp and decisive measures which will affect first and foremost our budgetary expenditures, including our expenditures on certain major programs that are not directly related to the social needs of the people. The question is so acute that we will have to look at our expenditures on defense too. A preliminary study shows that we can reduce them without reducing the level of security and the defense capability of the state. This will also affect other spheres. We must answer a question: for how long will we finance the work of loss-making enterprises from the budget?

In the final analysis, the fate of restructuring depends on the activity of labor collectives, economic cadres and the party as a whole in carrying out the course aimed at radical economic reform. Today, constructive, creative work is coming to the forefront. We should all understand this, comrades. Meetings are more lively now, but in order for restructuring to keep advancing, all our intellectual forces must be directed at everyday work.

No doubt the past year will remain in our memory and in history as a year of the development of the processes of democratization, not only in breadth but also in depth. This is, above all, connected with the fact that we really are at the onset of the implementation of political reform and the establishment of a law-governed state. Learning lessons from the past, we are creating guarantees that there is no repetition of all the negative things which happened in our history and which caused such tremendous damage to socialism, deforming its humane principles and thus obstructing advancement for many years and decades. Both the experience of the past and the experience of recent years show that the success of the revolutionary transformations depends on the extent to which the people are really involved in this process. But this task cannot be carried out without fundamental reform of the political system.

Proceeding on the principles of broad socialist democracy, we have to impart new content and new character to the activity of all social institutions in the country.

When we were approaching the 19th party conference we were not, strictly speaking, faced with the question of whether or not to open up yet another front of restructuring, to break up the command-based bureaucratic structure. Life itself simply brought us to this. Therefore, when people ask us if it is essential to undertake so many things at once, one can acknowledge these judgements to be right only in the sense that we have to carry the burden of solving many tasks simultaneously.

We do, however, regard as groundless the arguments to the effect that it would have been possible to delay political reform and the solution of other tasks a little, that economic questions should have been solved first, people should have been fed, and so on.

Perhaps this is attractive to the ill-informed person. But such a formulation of the question is, from the political and scientific points of view, simply not serious. We will not solve pressing economic problems unless we have an infrastructure that works, unless we break the command and bureaucracy system. How though is it to be broken?

Certain people propose making use of the sad experience of 1937 and "scattering," "going through with a bulldozer" etc. No, we will never allow this. We must create mechanisms that will be self-regulating and be so, moreover, by involving the main actor in all these processes—the people. After all, this is the basic reason that the working people took to the barricades in 1917, in order to take power into their own hands and achieve it in practice.

Nothing will happen in the economic and social spheres unless at the same time we resolutely implement the tasks for an in-depth reform of the political system. Without this, there can be no unfolding of the potential of socialist democracy, no involvement of the entire people in the transformation processes. It is precisely these issues, the issues of political reform, that were at the center of the 19th party conference. Now, when we have the chance to look back at some distance and assess the situation calmly, it is possible to say that the conference was a landmark in the life of our country. Our history and the history of restructuring can be divided into two stages—before the 19th party conference and after it, what is taking place on the basis of the political directives it worked out.

Now, I feel, we are all agreed in our assessment of the significance of the conference. But I do not think it would be wrong in this circle to recall something. There was a moment on the eve of the conference when voices were raised quite loudly against it. Moreover, it was suggested—and quite insistently so—that the conference be postponed, for holding it was regarded as virtually tantamount to surrendering the positions of restructuring. We can say now that life itself has refuted these dubious moods and calls. As a result of the conference, we have clear political directives which have endowed our entire restructuring with a different speed, a different depth, and fresh dynamism. So the Central Committee line proved to be correct and fruitful. It has been accepted by the party and the people.

True, matters have not been confined to just that one instance. After the conference, when its directives had begun to be put into practice, we again came up against a similar situation—again the well-known critical voices started. The Central Committee was placed under suspicion of havint reneged, no more and no less, on the conference decisions. And again the suggestion was put forward—this time to postpone the Supreme Soviet session that was due to make some very important decisions that had a bearing on the first stage in political reform. You are aware that in this intance, too, the Central Committee's stand met with broad support in society, and the proposals, which were finalized after taking into account the nationwide discussion that was held, were passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Why am I saying all this, comrades? Not only these episodes, but also the entire experience of restructuring, convincingly demonstrate the party's irreplaceable role as the generator of the ideas of restructuring and the guarantor of their practical implementation. In saying this I by no means wish to paint some kind of rosy picture. No, the party's role as the political vanguard is, of course, being conducted in a complex and contradictory situation, in a confrontation of views. I merely wish to express one thought—the most important thought: At the stage of profound transformations we are in even greater need of a theoretically, ideologically, and organizationally strong party, acting on Leninist principles and on the basis of broad intra-party democracy, and this presupposes both dialogue, the comparison of views, and the very greatest responsibility to the people.

It is perfectly logical that the party should begin with itself in restructuring the political system. We have begun with a delineation of functions between party, economic, and soviet bodies in the aim of revealing the role and potential of the party as the political vanguard, and of reviving the primal nature of the soviets as genuine bodies of people's rule. It is from this standpoint that the whole of party life is being restructured, that the role played by the elected bodies is being enhanced, and that the structure of party apparatus is being refined, from the raykoms up to the CPSU Central Committee. Incidentally, a decision has been taken on cutting the party Central Committee apparatus by 40 percent, and a sizeable part of the work in this area has already been done. Central Committee commissions have been set up and the functions of the party apparatus have been altered: they have been oriented toward policy.

An active process of improvement of party organizations is under way. We are seeing Communists displaying greater initiative, principledness, and stringency from one month to the next, and many of those who until recently were considered part of the so-called ballast are taking an active part in all restructuring work under today's new conditions.

There hasn't been such a report-back and election campaign in the party for a long time—from the point of view of atmosphere, and of content, and of the vigor of Communists in discussing and making decisions in the formation of elected bodies. Of course, far from everything is proceeding as we would like, but the situation is completely different. A process of renewing cadres is taking place—moreover on the principles of broad democracy. Suffice it to say that, according to preliminary data, the composition of raykoms and gorkoms has been renewed by approximately 60 percent, and of obkoms and kraykoms by more than half. Substantial changes have also occurred among the secretaries and bureaus of the elected party bodies. One-third of the secretaries of primary party organizations have been elected for the first time, and half of them elected on an alternative basis. On this basis 1,117 secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms, and a number of secretaries of obkoms including first secretaries, were elected. It has to be said that the situation at many conferences was very keen. The delegates made high demands on the candidates, and in a number of cases the secretaries, and even first secretaries, failed to get elected.

I think that the report-back and election campaign, in its significance, goes beyond the scope of an all-party event. It provides, as it were, a new impetus to all the restructuring processes in the country. This is a good prelude to the campaign which is getting under way for the nomination of people's deputies—those who have, at their first congress, to take decisions of enormous importance, to introduce radical changes into the mechanism of the functioning of the central organs of state power, and at the same time discuss the prospects for economic and social development up to the year 2005.

In general the new year will be very full in terms of expanding and deepening political reform. We have to reach its second stage, the deep restructuring of the state organs, the improvement of the status of the republics and of the autonomous formations, and the establishment of harmonious mutual relations between the center and the localities.

Important laws on this are to be adopted, in the drafting of which representatives of all the republics are taking part, in connection with the increase in the independence of the localities and the transition to principles of regional economic accountability.

Finally, the draft law on local self-government and the local economy has already been discussed at the first reading. It is not yet ready for broad discussion, but this will be done in the near future.

There are to be autumn elections to the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics and to local soviets, as well as the formation of a new system of power and self-government in the localities.

Diverse work is being done within the framework of the legal reform. Here, too, draft laws are on the way and will soon be presented for nationwide discussion: draft laws on the mass media, young people, freedom of conscience, one on public organizations, and others. As for the Law on the Mass Media, I think that it is necessary and it should be a good base for the press to feel both extra confidence and extra responsibility.

Naturally, comrades, whatever question we consider, it is impossible to limit ourselves to mere statement of the facts. It is important to see the dialectics of the process as a whole. For all the contradictory nature of the picture, one nevertheless gets a glimpse that the restructuring processes are gaining strength, and the tendency toward renewal of all spheres of life is showing through more and more. That tendency is being consolidated, and, most importantly, is receiving broad support. I think that it is the task of the party, of all political and public institutions, and of our science and culture to assist the development of these processes.

The processes of restructuring, unprecedented in their scale, range, and depth, are organically linked with serious shifts in public awareness. The contradictory nature of the restructuring processes, multiplied by the complexity and ambiguity of their perception and of people's interests, is the reality of our time. Public awareness is also experiencing a turning point identical with the one happening in life itself. It can be said that the revolutionary changes that restructuring aims for are impossible without a revolution in public awareness and in people's psychology and way of thinking. The role, and that means the responsibility too, of our scientific and artistic intelligentsia is indispensible and unique in this.

I have more than once had occasion to speak, and I consider it essential to speak once again at this meeting, of the huge contribution of the intelligentsia to restructuring, of how the spiritual path of restructuring is to a significant extent being laid down by those who have accepted it with heart and soul, and have understood the necessity of piloting our ship of state into the clear, broad waters of renewal.

The party greatly appreciates the contribution of scholars and cultural figures to the creation of the new moral and political atmosphere that is having a huge influence on all the processes taking place in society. To no small extent, it is thanks to these efforts that we have been able to destroy the longstanding stereotypes of thought, the stagnant world view, and to overcome political apathy in society. There is no exaggeration here, and I am speaking of all this not in order to say something nice to you, but to stress: In the future too, in connection with the

increase in the scale of restructuring, the role of the intellectual forces of the people, and first and foremost that of the intelligentsia, will grow.

I would say that the field of activity here is not only not becoming narrower, but is expanding all the time. What I mean is that we should intensify our theoretical research relating to questions of the formation of new notions of socialism and of ways to carry out the immense historical task—the transfer to a qualitatively new state of our society.

We cannot count on the success of restructuring if scientific knowledge and the contribution of science to the solution of economic tasks do not increase. I do not wish to single out any particular branches of knowledge. It is important for us to develop the social, natural, and technical sciences, and especially basic research. There is important work ahead: radical reform in national education. It must keep in step with life and with the improvement of society.

When we put in practical terms the renewal of our society on the basis of lofty intellectual and moral values, we cannot avoid an enormous amount of work in the spiritual sphere. Restructuring puts the man in the center of everything. It is now important for us, as never before, to use all our cultural achievements and to enrich them with new gains.

The cultural layer of restructuring is not being created in a vacuum, not in some empty space. It is absorbing, as it were, all that our peoples and our society have achieved throughout the many years of history and during the last 70 years since the revolution. In this connection, we need to develop a broad front of research relating to our own history. I can see nothing but positive results from turning to history in order to perceive all the finest achievements of the people while, at the same time, acknowledging bitter experience in order to avoid mistakes in the future.

It should be mentioned, comrades, that our society's spiritual life has perhaps never before been so active or committed, with such lively participation not only by the intelligentsia, but by all people, and with such a variety of forms. Much that is new and interesting, that reinforces morality and elevates the human being, has entered our life. All this is true; this is our great asset, the tremendous gain of restructuring. As in other spheres, however, these deep and sweeping processes are proceeding with difficulty. They are often of a contradictory nature and, to be blunt, are being accompanied by phenomena which arouse our concern and even anxiety.

The tumultuous process, during which stagnant dogmas and schemes of social development are being given up, ossified forms of social relations are being restructured, and the people's tremendous potential is being released through glasnost and democracy, have thrown some people off balance and confused them. Statements are being made about the decay of spiritual and moral values, although as I see it these very things are being revived. Sometimes you can even hear it said that we are all but deviating from socialist principles and ideals. It is being hinted to us that economic accountability, leasing, contracting, and cooperatives are all but the surrender of the positiions of socialism in the economy, although it is precisely through these and other forms that we wish to exploit the tremendous potential contained in socialist ownership and socialist production relations, to overcome alienation and restore man's position as master of production.

There are also attempts to simply intimidate, by claiming that restructuring has given rise to problems and difficulties in the economy, and in social and in interethnic relations. Yet we are all well aware that this has all been inherited from the past, that it built up over the years and that restructuring has merely highlighted old wounds which were hidden within.

So, if we are to speak of a link between restructuring and these painful problems, then I feel it can only be in the sense that restructuring gives us the chance to perceive and understand the causes underlying these problems and to find ways of solving them.

Of course, extremists and all sorts of irresponsible elements try to sponge off and cash in on the restructuring processes. This is the case and we see them. But that is no excuse for casting doubt on restructuring or for using it as a pretext for applying the brakes and halting the restructuring process. There have even been statements that have generally sought to portray restructuring as something destructive and designed to destroy everything and everyone. If this is the product of excessive sentimentality and a sick imagination, then it is understandable. But if it conceals a political stance, then we must reject that stance as unacceptable.

But equally unacceptable is the opposite extreme—an assessment of the progress and direction of restructuring from ultra-leftist standpoints. We oppose any attempt to urge restructuring on artificially, and any calls to force the pace of restructuring and to skip stages. We consider particularly dangerous those cavalier and irresponsible calls for an intensification of the struggle and an artificial kindling of passions, and for a personnel shakeup using those self-same methods that we are seeking to move away from through restructuring, and through the democratization of our society.

I am deeply convinced that our people will never agree to a nihilistic attitude toward the past, to anything that has been lived through and done, or to the life of previous generations.

Such an approach from a philosophical point of view is none other than an out-and-out denial of all previous experience and all that has been achieved by the people. It is a failure to understand the meaning of history, a

failure to grasp the dialectics of development during which everything from the past that can serve the construction of the new edifice is always used, and all that shackles the historic activity of the people is denied.

Yes, much from past experience is unacceptable to us—the deformations and authoritarian and bureaucratic distortions of socialism, and those forms of organization of the life of socialist society that suppress the initiative of the people, alienate them in all spheres of vital activity, and denigrate the dignity of the individual. But just as unacceptable for us are claims of there being a scientific basis to judgments about the "socialism that never was", about an "experiment that failed", about socialism being just about the same as deformations which happened in the past.

The newest recipes for the paths of further development of our society, recipes which are taken from borrowed values, are thus equally unacceptable for us. That is not restructuring any more. After all, we want to reveal through restructuring the potential of socialism, and to add new quality to our society. And what is being offered to us is nothing other than lack of faith in our historical choice, in the adherence of our people to the ideals of socialism, and in the ability of the people to regenerate society according to Leninist principles and according to truly socialist values.

In general, as we see, the criticism of the restructuring "from the right", from conservative positions, and the attacks on it "from the left" in the final analysis merge together. If we are to follow either set of calls, then it transpires that one has to proceed not along the path of renewal of our society and its progressive development, and one is to move not ahead, but rather to turn back.

For in essence, this is a denial of both our socialist choice and the idea and purpose of restructuring. In realizing all this, in comprehending and understanding the prospects for our advance lies the great responsibility of both the party and of all the intellectual forces of society, our scientific and artistic intelligentsia, whose voice is heeded and whose prestige is taken into account. In this regard, I cannot but speak of totally abnormal relations that have developed among the creative intelligentsia. Some highly respected comrades have got involved in the settling of accounts, in mutual accusations, using the tiniest excuse to put each other in a bad light. And all this is being brought out in the pages of the papers and magazines, creating among the people not only grief and incomprehension, but also quite simply indignation. And this is happening in a critical situation, when immense creative tasks need to be tackled.

What the workers say and think about this can be seen from the recent responses from the Moscow Kalibr works. People are staggered, and say: We are ashamed of some of our writers and scholars whom we love and respect. Let's agree at this conference: We will put ambitions to one side and think about the people, about the country.

Now that a mass of great new tasks has been loaded on us, our forces need to be consolidated as never before, to be concentrated to a maximum extent on solving the problems of restructuring, and I would say yet again, on constructive work. We are for consolidation, not at any price, but on a principled basis, on the basis of socialist values, on support for restructuring, aimed at renewing our society and giving socialism a genuinely humane character. Let us think about this too, and do everything for this end.

This does not alter our approaches and our policy of broad democratization, glasnost, and the establishment of a socialist plurality of opinion. We are not talking about some sort of "movement of goalposts." It is the constant and principled line of the party Central Committee. There is no way that we are abandoning socialist pluralism—the socialist pluralism that is founded on our values, that is opening up a vast scope to express views that reflect different interests and specific ways of perceiving different problems. It creates the best possible conditions for seeking truth and for avoiding mistakes at this crucial stage in our country's development.

I find totally incomprehensible the way some comrades are essentially starting to speak out against a plurality of opinions as such, when they claim that these mean an absence of standpoints, confusion, and chaos in society. I believe that such views on a plurality of opinions are nothing more than a delusion. It is only with a coming together of opinions and a comparison of views can the truth be discovered and the correct conclusions formulated.

A plurality of opinions in no way means the imposition of one point of view. I would say that rather it is a synthesis of different opinions, on the basis of which we get nearer to the truth. If we speak of the present state of discussions, as it happens we often witness not joint intellectual work, not an exchange of opinions, and not attempts to nudge thought towards a joint search, but rather they resemble "fistfights." The upshot is that everyone is apparently fighting for democracy, while in fact they are calling for strong-arm methods in dealing with opponents.

Clearly, to a considerable extent this is explained by the low standard of discussion. But probably not entirely. Group loyalties are just too powerful. And they often hinder normal creative discussion and the exchange of opinions. Each side sees in the opposing viewpoint nothing but unacceptable and inadmissible "intrigue". How can such discussions be fruitful?

In general, comrades, we all have something to think about. And the departure point for these reflections must be an understanding of our common responsibility toward the people for restructuring and for the fate of the country.

Speaking of the pluralism of views, one should probably not avoid one more important aspect of this question. It has both a principled and a moral significance. When we speak of the particular features of socialist pluralism, we have in mind first and foremost responsibility of opinion, which presupposes above all competency and reliability of the facts. Unfortunately, in our mass media one can observe a desire to disseminate hasty and unfounded conclusions and opinions, and one or two people have started to gamble on sensationalism. I must say frankly that a lot of lies have appeared. There have been very many instances of people being undeservedly humiliated and insulted. Most importantly, they do not all always have the chance to defend their name. This at a time when we are trying to interpret both our past and our present honestly, and to draw up the scientific perspective for the development of society and to decisively improve its moral climate. We are obliged to raise by a factor of many times our responsibility for the well-foundedness of our speeches and writings.

In working out the law on the mass media and glasnost, all this must be taken into account. But is it really and absolutely necessary to have a law for a highly moral and conscientious person, for a party member?

If anyone understands pluralism of opinion as meaning that a person is thereby freed from responsibility, then today we must decidedly not agree with that and say bluntly: More democracy always means more responsibility, and more rights always imply more commitments, too. These concepts always go hand in hand, I hope that you share my concern, which I impart to you in a sincere and comradely way.

I would like also to touch fundamentally upon the question of interethnic relations. Today the Soviet Union represents a unique phenomenon in the world community, a state in which there are indeed real and immense achievements in resolving the nationalities question, despite all the complexities and difficulties of the process and despite the problems that have accumulated and that have become more acute. All our experience—both positive and negative—testifies to the exceptional foresight of V.I. Lenin, who formulated the fundamental principles for our nationalities policy. Whenever we have been consistent in carrying out Lenin's principles, we have attained immense positive changes. On the other hand, all deviations from that have complicated the situation and have impeded the normal development of interethnic relations.

But perhaps one of the most serious reasons for our having encountered many phenomena in interethnic relations which perturb us, is that we have at some stage already begun to rest on our laurels, and have considered all the questions resolved. There was even a proposal to proceed to practical merging of the nations. In my time I managed with great difficulty to withstand the pressure of certain academics who were trying to thrust such a dangerous formulation into the current party program.

Restructuring has helped here, too, in spotting the real picture. This knowledge of the facts is helping us now in finding the correct paths for resolving the problems which have accumulated and which relate to the development of all nations and ethnic groups of our country, and their economy, language, and culture. True, this process is proceeding in a contradictory way at times. This is linked once again first of all with the complexity of reflecting interethnic relations in the public consciousness.

I think we must act here in such a way that all the positive things, which are being proposed for the purposes of harmonization of interethnic relations in the course of restructuring, are supported and developed. I want in this sense to support the responsible and constructive proposals of our scientists and of the creative intelligentsia which pertain to this sphere of human relations.

Yes, we in the Central Committee proceed from the position that the success of restructuring will depend to a decisive extent on how the problems which have accumulated are taken out and solved, on what impetuses are received by the fraternity of peoples united in the Soviet Union. The necessity of holding a special Central Committee plenum on these matters, the preparation for which is already proceeding on a broad front, has been dictated precisely by this. We are expecting serious and well-considered proposals from all the republics, from scientific and creative organizations, and from the public. We will welcome all proposals which are directed at giving our union, our community of peoples, proper dynamics and a corresponding character, and we will welcome all that is put forward from a position of strengthening the friendship of the peoples, of strengthening our multinational state on the basis of the development of each republic and of the union as a whole. Such decisions have already been adopted in a number of practical matters.

But we sometimes lag behind in understanding and resolving the issues which life sets before us. This arouses dissatisfaction among Soviet people. They understand well the significance of the union which has taken shape, the single national economic complex, and the significance of friendship among the peoples, and cannot conceive of themselves as outside the community and the joint struggle to develop and accomplish the tasks to renew our common socialist home.

Restructuring has opened up opportunities for us to comprehend and move toward solving the problems of making interethnic relations more harmonious. But in

some places this has turned into a strike at restructuring itself, and at democratization and glasnost. Some people have tried to turn public feelings in support of solving national problems against restructuring. But this only pushes things into an impasse. This is a sure way of wrecking the solution of national problems and of weakening restructuring.

Everything that leads to nations and peoples being set against one another; to whipping up nationalistic passions and all calls for national isolationism and exclusiveness, not to mention extremist appeals and slogans, are unacceptable. If this were to succeed in spreading, it would cause immense damage to our common cause, and would very seriously complicate all the processes of restructuring. We must also speak frankly about this.

Why did I consider it necessary to speak about this at today's meeting? A great deal depends on the standpoints of the scientific and creative intelligentsia. Unfortunately, recent past has shown that far from everyone has been up to satisfactory performance, including Communists. It has been discovered that most educated people cannot at times distinguish the national from the nationalist or understand the dialectics of the internationalist and the national.

To a certain degree what has happened can be explained by the fact that every nation, having its own intelligentsia, in developing its own culture and interpreting its achievements, turns to the roots of its own people and wants to understand where the source of today's successes lies. This is good and normal, but only until some nation or other suddenly declares itself a "supernation," using as a cover the necessity to develop its culture, language, and traditions. In the end, this approach leads to the nation becoming insular and to isolation from other cultures.

Of course, we cannot permit even the smallest people to disappear, the language of even the smallest people to be lost; we cannot permit nihilism with regard to the culture, traditions, and history peoples, be they big or small. This is what we must say without beating about the bush at the plenum to be held this summer. We must not just say: We shall have to lay down a legal base and to work out an economic and social approach to solving interethnic problems. Generally speaking, we must always bear in mind that with the years, with every 5-year period, and with every decade new generations of people enter life, and they are not born internationalists straight away. Nor are they born nationalists.

They pass through a political and internationalist school, and that means that this whole process is a living one, and must always be kept in view.

It must be said that the workers solidly favor not only maintaining, but strengthening and giving a new quality to our gains in the nationality policy area. Our society must listen to the voice of the people. But it often happens in our country that when there is a need to back one's position, one invokes the people, and when the people express an opinion different from the one being asserted by one comrade or another, they begin to say that the people do not realize everything, that they do not understand everything. No, the people will not allow anyone to lose their way. And that includes us, I think.

All that has been said here refers first of all to our domestic life, but restructuring also has immense international significance. The country is linked in the closest of ways and is interacting with hundreds of countries and peoples. Recent international events confirm in a convincing way the correctness of the theoretical conclusions of the 27th party congress about a contradictory, but interdependent and interconnected world, and about new realities. Indeed, the contemporary world is changing fast. Perhaps never before has man come up against such a volume of problems. Never have there been so many extremely complex tasks facing all countries and peoples. To fathom these new realities, one needs to change one's manner of thinking, and outmoded views, and habits which have long since outlived their day. We—and not just we alone—have to understand that it is impossible to live in the current world while having fenced oneself off from everything that is happening beyond the national frontiers.

A vital imperative faced by mankind is the priority of universal values, a world without violence and wars, diversity of social progress, dialogue and cooperation in the interests of the development and preservation of civilization, and movement toward a new world order. It was the understanding of all this that led us to a new political thinking.

Through the new political thinking we are proposing new approaches, and new methods of solving the problems of world development with account taken of contemporary realities. These are not claims and ambitions, but rather an invitation to all to cooperate.

We see our responsibility, of course, we are defending our interests, but we are prepared to take account of the interests of others, to take account of the views of others, and we also presuppose the responsibility of other countries for changing the situation in the world for the better, and for moving on to the new thinking.

We have not only put forward and formulated principles, but have also transformed them into real policies and have proposed a number of essential steps in matters concerning the sphere of security and disarmament, the settlement of regional conflicts, problems of the development of countries of the "Third World", ecological problems and many others.

I am far from considering our new vision of the world as complete or final. In point of fact, we are the whole time enriching our concepts and our policies. A new step in this regard are the considerations and proposals voiced

in the recent speech at the United Nations. I think there is no need to give a lengthy exposition of the arguments providing the grounds for our new political thinking, but there are matters to which I would like to draw attention.

Nevertheless, we now feel that we have fallen behind in the elaboration of the dialectics of the correlation of values common to all mankind and class interests. And our science has something to work on here. This falling behind leads to a certain failure to understand and even—let's be blunt—to absurd accusations of yielding the positions of socialism, of abandoning class approaches and the interests of the national-liberation movement. Essential integral elements of the new political thinking such as the recognition of the right of every people to their choice, and noninterference in the internal affairs of any states, are thereby overlooked.

And not only that: As is well known, the new political thinking presupposes taking the ideology out of interstate relations. But that certainly does not mean, as some people want to interpret it, taking the ideology out of international relations. No, that would be a refusal to recognize the real state of affairs, the existence of social systems based on different forms of property and on different ideologies. We can see the depth of the differences between the two social systems, but that is not a reason for opposition by force and the confrontation of states.

We live in a world that may be contradictory, but one that is united in many things and is a single entity, and we are linked by one civilization, which is subjected to serious testing in connection with the appearance and aggravation of global problems. Here is a stimulus for cooperation, for interaction, while preserving our attachment to our social choice.

From the standpoint of the new political thinking we regard socialism as an organic part of modern civilisation, without which the progress of mankind is unthinkable. We are convinced—and this conviction is based on scientific data—that socialism will still open up its enormous capabilities as a society looking confidently into its future.

The new political thinking is still only in the process of winning minds. For it to enter into our life, the joint efforts of politicians, the scientific and creative intelligentsia and broad circles of the public are essential. Truly, the fate of the world today cannot only be the object of the actions of politicians alone. It is the result of the joint efforts of world public forces.

I suppose that one mustn't fall into illusions in this complex and difficult matter. Years of sustained work lie ahead to affirm the new principles of constructing international relations that take diverse interests into account.

In any case, the time of power politics, when the views of one country have been imposed on the entire world community, is leaving, never to return. And the sooner all members of the world community realize this, the better for all of us. It is our common task and our common duty to assist in this.

These, comrades, are some ideas which I wished to express at the beginning of our meeting. I hope we will have a thorough exchange of opinions; in any event, we are very interested in that.

Debate, Gorbachev Closing Remarks

PM0801200389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1-3, 4

[Report on debate and M.S. Gorbachev's closing remarks following Gorbachev address at a meeting of scientists and cultural figures held on 6 January at the CPSU Central Committee headquarters in Moscow; "To Build Up the Intellectual Potential of Restructuring"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Scientific and cultural figures who took part in the meeting spoke.

The USSR Academy of Sciences President Guriy Marchuk reported, in particular, that recently about 150 directors out of 250 have been elected democratically. A hundred new editors-in-chief of journals have taken up their duties. He noted that formerly the social sciences had been relegated to second place and sociologists had been assigned the role of commentators. The worst thing was that no younger generation had been trained.

The writer Boris Oleynik described the meeting as very timely. It was necessary to join together in putting an end to "shop-floor" squabbles, because there were so many problems in the state that it was no good occupying oneself and expending time, energy and paper on slaking one's personal ambitions. He touched on interethnic relations. In the Ukraine, he said, these problems had been constructively channelled, though there were some "freak formations" [vybrosy prodoy]. In principle, however, everyone knows that it is only within the fraternal community that each republic is guaranteed its existence as a state; some, indeed, only received that status thanks to Soviet power.

Sergey Mikhalkov, chairman of the board of the RSFSR Writers' Union, said that restructuring demands the consolidation of all forces of society, including those engaged in literature. Yet, in the speaker's opinion, not all of those in charge of magazines and newspapers understand this.

Restructuring in the Baltic region, said the poet Yanis Peters, has become for its peoples what the Great October Socialist Revolution was for those republics. It is not for nothing that it is being said among us that a revival of faith in socialism is now taking place in the Baltic. The

speaker said it was desirable, in his view, that the central newspapers should assess more objectively the processes of democratization of public life in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

The writer Ales Adamovich stressed that the whole line of restructuring, which is being determined from above, is following the Leninist route. At the same time he expresed concern that in some places, especially in the provinces, in the republics and oblasts, social initiative is again being restricted. He mentioned the emergence of the "Memorial" public fund. A good decision of the CPSU Central Committee has just been published, said the writer. It states that there will be more than one monument, and not only in Moscow. It is very important that the Commissions of Deputies concern themselves with this. But I think no Commission of Deputies will replace the one boy who collected tens of thousands of documents relating to the cases of persons who were subjected to repression. All the neglected graves must be put in order.

The OGONEK editor-in-chief Vitaliy Korotich dealt with questions of raising the standard of discussion and consolidating the forces of the creative intelligentsia. It seems to me, said the speaker, that a very interesting process is already being defined and is in progress. By degrees, little by little, a new trust in Soviet power is ripening and taking shape among the people. Our huge successes in the international arena are plain to see. The people are becoming more active, to the alarm of some of the bosses. I think one has a duty to stop skirmishing over trivalities, he said.

In the opinion of MOLDAYA GVARDIYA editor-in-chief Anatoliy Ivanov, certain Soviet publications such as OGONEK, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, the Latvian magazine PODNIK and others, are at time propagandizing petit-bourgeois views. It is necessary to found alternative publications in order to rebuff such attitudes. Such possibilities must be created.

There has always been an ideological struggle and always will be. We need glasnost, democracy, and restructuring as we need air. That is obvious. But it is also obvious that we ought here and there to move the nuances and transpose the accents; otherwise, under cover of glasnost, democracy, and the word "perestroyka" one may be fighting for aims which are the opposite of these concepts...

The poet Yevgeniy Yevtushenko noted that great power chauvinism and at the same time all petty, selfish nationalisms which, under the guise of affirming independence, cancel out the positive contribution of the Russian people to world history, relate equally to low social and political culture and to a low level of understanding of dignity.

Academician Leonid Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics, said the main thing was to give people a life that is worthy of them, decent working conditions, and opportunities to develop their intellect. But whereas the aims and theory of restructuring and the correctness of that political course are clear, the tactics, approaches, and methods of tackling economic tasks are sometimes worrisome. The effects can be felt, unfortunately, of elements of the "campaign" approach and of looking for simple solutions—some sort of magic wand or single means capable of solving everything. We fought for brigade contract, now we're fighting for lease. No one denies that this is one of the most progressive forms. But why turn it into a campaign? Different forms may become established in the Baltic and Central Asia. It is wrong to measure them all by the same yardstick.

DRUGZHBA NARODOV editor-in-chief Sergey Baruzdin, speaking of the problems of interethnic relations, expressed the opinion that they demand immediate solution since many of them are extremely acute.

To me the most precious things, said Academician Nataly Bekhtereva, director of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences' Institute of Experimental Medicine, are my family, my science, and now our restructuring, my restructuring. Swords are clashing over the question of Stalin. What attitude should we take to this figure? Stalin was certainly a criminal, and we should treat him as a criminal.

Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of the USA and Canada, said one of the important areas of restructuring was foreign policy. Here accumulations of quantitative changes have taken place which in the last half-year, and especially perhaps in the last few months, have begun to become qualitative. People abroad have now begun to understand that what has begun and is being done in the Soviet Union is a global phenomenon, on which depends the future of all mankind.

ZNAMYA editor-in-chief Grigoriy Baklanov devoted his speech to a number of economic and moral problems of restructuring. In particular, he expressed the viewpoint that it is not just by chance that there is a shortage of several types of goods and produce in our shops. People say it's due to resistance to restructuring. This is, I think, a serious matter. And now, the speaker continued, these two years are extremely important. Two years in which to get some improvement in the shops.

I am one of the members of the committee concerned with creating a memorial to the victims of Stalinist repression, said Mikhail Ulyanov, chairman of the board of the RSFSR Theatrical Union. Already, 600,000 rubles and quite a lot of foreign currency have been collected. I have read that the Ministry of Culture will now build the

memorial. That's fine. But why not make use of the money that the people have collected for the building of a monument, a memorial, an archive, a museum?

In effect, our whole life now is restructuring, said NOVYY MIR editor-in-chief Sergey Zalygin. When open aggressive pressure is brought to bear against restructuring, there's nothing at all to fear. That strengthens us. The clumsy and compromising defence of restructuring is a different matter. One must not try to defend the truth by false means. It demands means which are as true as itself. Yet, in defending it, we often compromise it.

We cannot live without internationalism, said the writer Grachya Ovanesyan, chairman of the board of the Armenian Writers' Union. We must abolish all the causes that create enmity between races, wherever it may be.

On behalf of the Armenian people, he said, I want to express our gratitude to you personally, Mikhail Sergeyevich, to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, to the whole membership of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and to the writers and organizations that have given us unprecedented moral and material succour in our harsh and tragic hour of trial.

On restructuring in the interethnic sphere, the speaker referred to Lenin's dream of a federation in which small and large ethnic formations would be equal members.

Restructuring in Armenia, said the speaker, has been accepted by the people. Restructuring is for us what long-awaited rain is to the parched earth.

Summing up the results of the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev said:

I think we have had a big and important discussion. The Central Committee and the Politburo need the machinery for consultation of this kind. Meetings with the most prominent representatives of the scientific and artistic intelligentsia must be held regularly. Not everyone has had a chance to speak today. I hope those comrades will not feel offended. If anyone would like to convey to us what he wanted to say, both I and all the other comrades in the leadership are at your disposal.

I am happy with the atmosphere in which the meeting has taken place. I don't think anyone could argue, after such a discussion, that restructuring is not happening in our country or that it has already exhausted itself. Restructuring is already part of us. Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin put it well: "If someone were to pull out of us all that is connected with restructuring, I don't know what would be left—a shell." We have heard much from each other that is useful and important. That is in itself an achievement, comrades.

I think you all shared the concern I spoke of with regard to the new stage of restructuring. We must go forward in all areas of restructuring. Only thus can we count on success. One would like to hope that everyone has understood that we need consolidation. Not at any price, no, but on the path of adherence to the policy of restructuring, on the basis of our socialist values: in order to move restructuring, in order to lay great stress now on creative work, on support of all that which we are achieving with such difficulty in all spheres—in the economy, in the political process, in spiritual life.

By exchanging opinions, discussing and comparing, we must enrich that process. On no account must we think that one group of people holds the truth in their hands, while others are people who are raising the flag of false values.

I have noticed that all the same, many of those who have spoken have stuck pretty precisely to their own "corner", their "sector". Doubtless they were afraid that afterwards, when they gather in their own circle to discuss the results, someone might suspect that someone has yielded ground to someone else. Yet this, of course, is not conceding of ground, comrades, but mutual understanding. Mutual understanding, of which we are all so much in need today. In all the speeches, including the extreme ones, there has been a well- founded concern. But concern cannot be combined with distrust, with ill-will. We must strive to free ourselves of that. I fully share that opinion, which has been expressed here more than once.

There is a popular saying: We are also tired of malice, and moreover malice expounded by a master of the word! It has a bite to it, you know. It can be heard throughout the land. Where is the talent going? Whither are we directing our word? The word is a commander in battle. In an educated country, that is a great thing!

Today there is a new atmosphere in society. It was so that the role of the intelligentsia should be an active one that we have created this atmosphere of glasnost, openness—a creative, constructive atmosphere in which all that is salutary may find support. Without giving way on the positions of restructuring, without giving way on the things we have gained, we must resolutely cut off all that is hindering us; we must stop being hardened and embittered.

Let us think about this part of our discussion. I think we are all alarmed. But, when all's said and done, we are responsible people. We value the wise word and listen to it. Let us be responsible!

It can be observed that there is understanding in what matters most. We are anxious for our country, for its renewal, for the people, anxious to move our restructuring forward. Today we have a very great opportunity! But we must not fall into panic, pessimism, despondency. Difficulties are natural at such sharp and critical turning-points.

We must live in society and work, work actively, renewing our life. We are all participating in restructuring—some more, some less. People are different—each has his own character, his own will, various degrees of tact, resoluteness. All that is connected with the human being can't be left out of account. But now that we have set out on our great march, do let us find points of contact, display respectfulness. Let there be more argumentation in our disputes. After all, we are indeed fortunate, as I see it, in being part of such a great undertaking. However difficult the problems, however pressing, despite all the things that confront us—the most unexpected issues, vicissitudes, moral and physical strains, it can be said that this is a great time, and we absolutely must endure all, endure, without losing sight of our values and without losing sight of our landmarks.

There are those who under pressure of the affairs of the moment fall into recommendations which are poorly thought out and ill-considered. We must not be in too much of a hurry, comrades—especially your circle of people, whose word is very much listened to.

We count on cooperation, on understanding, on mutual understanding. We are open to you, and as far as we are able, we try to examine promptly and competently the questions that come from our scientific and artistic intelligentsia. That is how it has been, and that is how it will be. Thank you for taking part in this meeting. All the best!

Meeting's Participants Listed

LD0601184889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Today there was a meeting with cultural and scientific figures at the CPSU Central Committee. Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

The following took part in the exchange of views: Comrades Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Oleynik, a writer; Mikhalkov, chairman of the board of the RSFSR Union of Writers; Peters, a poet; Kudryavtsev director of the State and Law Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Granin, a writer; Sviridov, a composer; Adamovich, a writer; Korotich, editor in chief of OGONEK magazine; Sats, artistic director and conductor at the Children's Music Theater; Ivanov, editor in chief of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA magazine; Yevtushenko, a poet; Abalkin, an academician and director of the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Baruzdin, editor in chief of DRUZHBA NARODOV magazine; Bekhtereva, an academician; Drutse a writer; Bykov, a film director and secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Film-makers; Arbatov, an academician and director of the United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Baklanov, editor in chief of ZNAMYA magazine; Astafyev, a writer: Ulyanov, chairman of the Board of the USSR Union of Theatre Workers; Zalygin, editor in chief of NOVYY MIR magazine; and Ovanesyan, first secretary of the Board of the Union of Writers of the Armenian SSR.

The results of the meeting were summed up by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Taking part in the meeting were Comrades Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Shevardnadze, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov Raumovskiy, Talyzin, Yazov, and Baklanov.

A detailed report of the meeting will be published.

Ryzhkov Chairs Republic Leaders Economic Meeting

LD0701180489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1637 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS)—A meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers held here today examined a USSR Government commission report on the work done toward preparing the draft of the general principles of restructuring economic and social administration in the union republics on the basis of self-management and self-financing.

The chairmen of the councils of ministers of all the union republics took part and spoke at the meeting.

A deep and comprehensive discussion was held of the proposals worked out by the commission on the formation of a qualitatively new economic mechanism of territorial management, of their aim in dealing with the task of making ethnic relations harmonious, and of strengthening the Soviet socialist federation on the basis of organic combination of the interests of each republic and the common interests and needs of the country. A broad exchange of views took place on the demarcation of spheres and functions of economic management at the republican and union levels.

During the session, a number of constructive proposals and comments were put forward with regard to expanding the opportunities of territories and to increasing the responsibility of republican and local administrative bodies in satisfying the population's growing needs for food products, nonfood products, housing, and various forms of services.

The meeting's participants unanimously emphasized that the principles contained in the proposed draft document encompass practically all aspects of the cardinal improvement of territorial management in the country.

The Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers concluded that, after further necessary work has been done, the draft of general principles could be adopted as the basis for preparation of a corresponding USSR legislative act.

Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and Aleksandr Vlasov, Yuriy Maslyukov, and Nikolay Talyzin, candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, took part in the meeting.

The meeting was chaired by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Ministry Aide Comments on Emigration Figures

PM0601180589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Calling You From IZVESTIYA": "Where the Emigres Are Going"]

[Text] REUTER has transmitted a report which says, in part: "Last month Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union reached a record level for the eighties. According to the data of the intergovernmental committee on migration, 3,510 Soviet Jews arrived in Vienna, the international transit center, in December. A U.S. diplomat, who deals with emigration matters, said that 'to all appearances, the Soviet Union has relaxed the procedure for obtaining the right to leave the country.'

"The number of people leaving in December was 50 percent greater than in November. In 1980 as a whole 20,082 Jews left the Soviet Union. Despite Israel's efforts to attract new emigres, only 1,428 people went there. The majority are going to the United States."

We asked N. Kovalenko, deputy chief of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Visa and Registration Department, to comment on this news:

"It is true that it has been made easier for citizens, including Jews, to leave. The new procedure for travel abroad has been in operation since January 1987. The solution of many questions concerned with the consideration of citizens' applications, including those from people who want to take up permanent residence abroad, has been considerably simplified. We no longer put a stamp in the passport determining the border crossing point; the person leaving the country can decide for himself what checkpoint he will pass through and by what transport. As for the figures, according to our data, in the first 11 months of last year, around 17,000 people were authorized to go to Israel and in the first 7 months of 1988 nearly 2,000 people were authorized to leave among those who were previously refused permission. We do not check whether these people go to Israel or not—everyone is free to decide for himself what country he goes to to take up permanent residence."

Paris Group Announces New Party in USSR

AU0601205189 Paris AFP in English 2041 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, Jan 6 (AFP)—Soviet citizens have set up a Christian-Democratic Party and are in the process of setting up a Social-Democratic Party, officials from the French Centre for Social Democrats (CDS) announced here on Friday.

The Christian-Democratic Party was set up in Moscow on December 17 by a congress of 32 delegates, the French centre-right CDS said.

Sources in Moscow said the Christian-Democratic Party was formed at a clandestine founding congress and that no details were available concerning the party's membership.

However a CDS spokesman said that it had invited the new party's president, Vladimir Ossipov, to visit Paris.

A Social-Democratic Party is also due to formed during a conference in Leningrad on February 4 and 5, the CDS added.

According to Jean-Marie Daillet, CDS vice-president, the Soviet parties are the first to be formed as independent social and political organisations under the terms of new Soviet legislation governing the setting up of associations.

Latvian Front Organization Holds First Congress

LD0801113689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1315 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Report by Correspondent Robert Ostrovskiy]

[Text] Riga, 7 Jan (TASS)—The constituent congress of the International Front of the working people of this Soviet Baltic Republic [Interfront], which opened today in its capital Riga, was a confirmation of the great sociopolitical activeness of the inhabitants of Latvia.

The new mass, public organization has proclaimed assistance in bringing about and deepening restructuring as its main aim. In its ranks it unites workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, youth, and the nonworking part of the population, independent of whether or not they belong to the party, of what nationality and race they are, or of what their religious convictions are.

According to preliminary data, not less than 300,000 inhabitants of Latvia today support Interfront. In all the rayons of Riga, as well as in the majority of administrative centers of the republic, councils of Interfront support groups, which carried out a great deal of preparatory work on the eve of the congress, have been organized and are functioning. They have elected more than 700 delegates to take part in the work of the forum.

In setting up Interfront, said (Anatoliy Belaychuk), prorector of the Riga Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers and a cochairman of the organization's organizing committee, we proceeded from the fact that the interests of the working people of the different nationalities do in the main coincide while the differences between them are not of an antagonistic nature. Thus, we can jointly fight for the victory of restructuring as begun by our Communist Party. However, while acknowledging the leading role of the CPSU we remain an independent organization.

On the first day of the congress' work, Anatoliy Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium, addressed those taking part.

Conference Ends

LD0901151989 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Riga January 9 TASS—Delegates of a constituent conference of the Latvian International Front have ended a discussion on topical problems facing the republic, adopted a number of resolutions and approved the rules and the declaration of the new public organisation.

The documents emphasise, among other things, that the International Front favours the republic's economic independence within the framework of a single economic complex of the country on the principles of cost accounting, as well as the leasing of the land to peasants for an indefinite period of time. The International Front believes that industrial plans should be based, in the first place, on the existing manpower resources. Participants in the movement are going to work for the lifting of restrictions on wages for working pensioners. The declaration supports the priority development of Latvian culture without infringing upon the linguistic and cultural interests of people of other nationalities.

Delegates pointed out that the International Front had been created not as a counterbalance for the National Front created three months before, because their platforms of promoting perestroyka coincide on most of the items. However, there are differences in methods of resolving a number of economic and social problems. The conferences of both movements showed that perestroyka induces more and more people to taking an active part in politics. If various views expressed these days include sometimes those that totally contradict each other or are absolutely unacceptable, this shows that we all should learn the art of democracy, of being careful with one's words and actions. It was stated at the conference that the consolidation of all the healthy forces of society was possible only on the basis of mutual understanding.

The steering bodies of the International Front were elected at the conference.

Armenian Atomic Power Plants To Shut Down

LD0801185389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A gorkom report and election conference is under way in Yerevan. Our correspondent reports:

[V.Nazaryan, identified by caption] Urgent questions of political ideologial and economic work are at the center of the delegates' attention and are being developed at the capital's party organization in the time of difficulty for the republic, which demands complete mobilization of force and responsibility from everyone. The conference was addressed by Suren Gurgenovich Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia. He said among other things:

[Begin Aryutunyan recording] I believe that we now have to rally on this platform to show in reality both the maturity of the organization and our political maturity to tackle social and economic questions, to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake, and at the same time tackle the political problems that worry us. We politicians, party workers, party members in the ideologial aktiv must (?have) both soberness and political realism, to play less..., [changes thought] awaken less the feelings that only hinder us in our business and in our work. [Video shows Aryutunyan at podium] [End recording]

[Nazaryan] Comrade Aruytunyan went on to inform those taking part in the conference that sharing the anxiety and concern of the population of the republic in connection with the earthquake, the Central Committee of the CPSU, the government of the country, had made the decision to close the Armenian atomic power station. The first power unit will be stopped on 25 February, and the second on 18 March. [Video shows participants in hall]

Reconstruction Work Continues in Armenia

Commission Weighs Priorities 6 Jan

LD0601132389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] The reemployment of all inhabitants of stricken areas, the restoration and reconstruction of destroyed enterprises, and the return to a pre-earthquake production level in northern Armenia—these were the tasks set before union and republican ministries and departments at a regular working session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission today by Comrade Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Proceeding from these three priority tasks, the commission embarked on examining long-term programs for eliminating the earthquake's aftermath and the development of various branches of industry, agriculture, transportation, trade, communications, housing, municipal

economy, and social security. It is planned to introduce improved technological processes in all enterprises. At the same time, the reconstruction of production facilities will be carried out, with the object of improving working conditions and the ecological situation.

The cold weather which has set in has aggravated the problem of providing the population in stricken areas with warm railcar accommodation and small dwellings. The commission has instructed the USSR Ministry of Railways to undertake special control over the movement of trains with these loads. It was also emphasized that the population in the disaster areas should be provided with warm accommodation as a priority.

A representative of the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex said it is absolutely intolerable that a number of organizations taking part in the elimination of the earthquake's aftermath should be occupying arable land in violation of established procedures. The commission has instructed the headquarters in the disaster area, organizations, and enterprises to observe strictly the legislation on land utilization and to prohibit the dumping of work refuse and other acts which spoil land suitable for agricultural use.

The Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR should ensure coordination of work on the allocation of land. All arable land should be rid of obstructions and refuse by spring.

The need to return 92,000 hectares of irrigated land affected by the earthquake to use by the beginning of spring field-work was noted at the session. This comprises one-third of the overall area of irrigated land in the republic. More than 300 km of irrigation channels and many other hydrotechnical facilities were either partially or completely destroyed by the disaster. The task of restoring them quickly is a task of immense national economic importance.

One of the earthquake's tragic consequences is the considerable increase in the number of invalids requiring not only the provision of a pension but also prosthetic devices. To this end, a prosthetic enterprise will be reconstructed in Armenia, at which, with the assistance of specialists from the FRG, the production of telescopic prosthetic devices will start. The commission has instructed the republic Ministry of Social Security to maintain strict control over deciding all questions in this sphere.

Comrade Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party, Central Committee, took part in the work of the session.

Commission Meets 9 Jan

LD0901132089 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1203 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan, 9 Jan (TASS)—The commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at its session today chaired by Yuriy Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, pointed to the need in the next few days to fully complete the compilation of substantive and specific programs for eliminating the consequences of the Armenian earthquake.

The commission noted that in the main the elaboration of the most important programs for returning the affected areas to normal life has been completed through the efforts of union and republican ministries and departments participating in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake. Four main areas have been singled out—broad housing construction, the restoration and reconstruction of industry and of the agro-industrial complex, and also the creation of an infrastructure for the towns and settlements. Work is now being carried out on the details of these programs, which will be finally approved by the commission in the second 10-days of January.

The plans of most ministries and departments are noted for their thoroughness and specific nature. In particular, the program for the development of the railways in Armenia, presented by the USSR Ministry of Railways, envisages an over two-fold increase in freight turnover, from 18.5 million to 40 million tonnes per year. The USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, the USSR Health Ministry, and other ministries and departments have also presented precise and detailed plans of action.

At the same time, at the commission's session, sharp criticism was levelled at the Ministry of Light Industry of the Armenian SSR, which has been unable to prepare a program with specific proposals for employing about 40,000 people and improving their everyday conditions. The commission also condemned the irresponsible stance of top officials in the republic's Ministry of National Education. For various reasons, 80,000 children of preschool and school age have remained in the disaster areas. However, this ministry has still taken virtually no serious steps to organize educational and schooling processes. The commission confirmed that dealing with questions of national education are of top priority.

Aftershocks May Continue for Years

NC0601122689 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1830 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] The Earthquake Center of the Armenian Academy of Sciences reports that in Spitak, the epicenter of the earthquake, and the general region of Yerevan and the Ararat plain, scientists are (?carefully) monitoring the aftereffects of the earthquake which caused extensive damage on 7 December last year.

Numerous tremors of varying strength have been recorded in recent days. Their [word indistinct] force continues to decline. However, some of these tremors were powerful. A tremor registering 6.5 was recorded on 31 December. On the 1st day of the new year, five

tremors were recorded in Leninakan, Kirovakan and [name indistinct], one of them registering 3.5. On 2 January, six tremors were recorded, one of them registering 5.

According to the scientists, the tremors may continue for months, even years; the more frequent this natural activity, the faster the dissipation of the destructive energy stored in the main earthquake zone.

Restoration Work in 'Full Swing'

LD0601123889 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—Restoration work is in full swing in Soviet Armenia. This puts an extra burden on the railway services. The Armenian railways are operating at full capacity, the newspaper GUDOK reports. Several lines had to be restored urgently after the earthquake and are now functioning smoothly. Prior to the natural calamity thirty railway cars were handled daily by the Kirovakan station, for instance, while today their number has increased 4-5-fold. In addition to various supplies necessary for restoration work, the railways are faced with the task of delivering materials and raws to plants and factories that have been put into operation again in the town.

The Ukraine has been charged with the restoration of Kirovakan. In an interview to the weekly NEDELYA Vasiliy Salo, minister for construction of that Soviet republic, said that 3-4-storey houses on special shock-resistant foundations are to be built in the quaked town. Hundreds of Ukrainian specialists came to Armenia in the very first days of January. Up to 15 thousand people will subsequently take part in restoration work there. The first 150 thousand square metres of housing will be commissioned in Kirovakan this year. As many as 550 thousand square metres of housing, schools for 13 thousand children, several kindergartens and hospitals are to be put up within a period of three years.

Armymen are working on the restoration of spur-tracks to Spitak, the earthquake's epicentre. They intend to increase the freight handling capacities of the local station. The towns and villages, now in the process of restoration, require very large quantities of bricks, cement, pipes and other building materials.

11 Armenian Nationalists Reported Arrested

NC0801221989 Paris AFP in English 2214 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan, Soviet Union, Jan 7 (AFP)—Police arrested 11 Armenian nationalists including four members of the Karabakh Committee, which has led Armenia's campaign to incorporate the Azerbayjan region of Nagorno-Karabakh, relatives said on Sunday.

Police arrested the 11 nationalists at a secret meeting late Saturday in Yerevan, the capital of the southern Soviet Republic of Armenia, their relatives said. The city has been under curfew for the past six weeks.

All 11 members of the committee are now behind bars. The four rounded up on Saturday had gone underground last month after a wave of arrests of leading nationalists following the earthquake that devastated northern Armenia.

The latest arrests came 48 hours after the end of the 30-day jail term given to the first five committee members to be arrested on December 10, although the five have not been freed.

An American official told the wife of Vasgen Manoukian, one of the committee's 11 members, that the latest arrests indicated that the authorities were unlikely to release any members of the Karabakh Committee. Instead, he said, they would probably put the whole group on trial.

A nationwide campaign against Armenian nationalists accused of fanning the flames of ethnic unrest in a bid to win power followed Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's December 11 condemnation of the movement at the end of his visit to Armenia.

Journalists in Armenia Remark on Karabakh Issue

LD0501210689 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—"The great disaster and misfortune shared by everyone relegated to the background everything that only a day before the tragedy worried our Armenian friends, it overshadowed the 'Karabakh issue'—a problem through which Armenians looked at the world and people in it during 10 painful months in 1988. It turned out that the tragedy could destroy the houses and claim thousands of lives, but could not destroy and discard countless 'programmes', leaflets, calls and threats that spread over Yerevan shortly before the disaster. This is the product of the 'Karabakh committee'...", runs an article "Over the Abyss" written by TASS special correspondents Vyacheslav Kevorkov and Viktor Ponomarev for the Soviet trade union newspaper TRUD. It was published on Thursday.

The journalists who went to Yerevan and to the site of the catastrophe in Spitak describe the quake aftermath, the heroism of rescue workers, the heavy losses and the nobleness of those who came to the aid of people in need.

But even in such conditions, the journalists write, some people were more concerned with preventing the notorious "Karabakh issue" from fading out, than with the tragedy of their fellow countrymen. The newspaper gives their names—Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Igor Muradyan, V.

Manukyan, Ashot Manucharyan and others. The journalists also describe the results of their "activity", citing concrete frightful examples. Luckily, combat grenades made at one of the Armenian factories were confiscated in time...the bandit weapons of a group of stupefied youths, who were ready to attack a military patrol, were left unused...but shots were fired on a bus carrying people and sharp lances and stones were thrown at soldiers...

Of course, the journalists remark, the leaders of the "Karabakh committee", its eleven apostles, did not do anything like this themselves. They "only" whipped up hatred. "But how long will only those be punished who have fired, looted and burned? Can it be that our imperfect law will let once again escape from answer those who guided, nudged and encouraged?" The journalists pose this rhetorical question. "Fires are not kindled on powder kegs," they continue. "It would be naive to reproach today the leaders of the 'Karabakh committee' and extremists from Azerbaijan for being ignorant. They were aware of what they were doing and saying. They conscientiously lighted matches, trying not to see how other people's houses in the mixed villages of the two republics went up in flames. Whether they wanted it or not, it was their speeches at rallies that incited people to terrorism."

The special TASS correspondents write that they "often asked many representatives of the Armenian intelligentsia: Why after formulating the ideas of national movement, they gave complete control over them to the extremists who are pushing people to terror and civil war? Why did they allow the 'Karabakh' leaders to call for revenge, for breaking order, for violating the law? Why did everyone suddenly recall and bring to discussion the Muslim-Christian and Azerbaijani-Armenian contradictions while few people remembered that both were Soviet citizens? There was no clear and precise answer to these questions.

Quite a few lines, the most interesting perhaps, are devoted to the journalists' conversation with the representatives of Armenia's young intelligentsia. Here is what they said:

"Here and in Baku the processes started under the former leadership. People went into the streets with slogans 'Perestroyka, Party, Gorbachev'. They were awaiting changes. And what happened?..."

"There are sensible variants: all 'pros' and 'cons' should be discussed. There must be a way out. For example, why should not the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region become a republic?"...

"The most important thing is to get rid of emotions and find a solution in the sphere of economics..."

"Are there still people who cannot understand the Nagorno-Karabakh issue is first and foremost a socio-economic problem stemming from injustice and the fanned up nationalist relations...?"

In conclusion the journalists quote one of their Armenian interlocutors who impressed them most of all: "Corruption is our greatest scourge, both here and in Azerbaijan. It is the cause of everything—Karabakh and the enmity between nationalities and even such a great number of quake casualties."

Baku Military Commandant Says 122 Detained 6 Jan

NC0601182889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Basically, the situation in the city has not changed. A total of 122 people were detained during the past day. Of these individuals, 104 were detained for violating curfew hours and another four for breaching the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree, dated 23 November 1988.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Commandant on 6-7 Jan Situation

NC0701190789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Peace prevailed in Baku during the day. Nevertheless, a number of illegal activities were recorded yesterday. Timely measures obstructed these activities. On 6 January, the military units detained (?Muezzin Oglu) Kuliyev, an electrical welder affiliated with the Baku [word indistinct] industry production union electro-mechnical branch, for distributing anti-Soviet and provocative leaflets calling for disrupting stability in the city. The inquiry group affiliated with the USSR procurator is investigating the matter.

On the same day, Timurov, a driver of [name indistinct] truck registered as [word indistinct] 8691, which is affiliated with the Baku technical transportation administration, was detained at checkpoint 17 on (word indistinct] for refusing to comply with the demands of the (?checkpoint) commander and the officials of the state vehicle inspectorate and for trying to escape by using weapons. Eminov, a metal worker affiliated with the Narimanov oil and gas extraction administration, and (?khemator) and [name indistinct], drivers affiliated with the (?Kobustan) vehicle transportation group were detained with him.

The violators of law and order have been handed over to the internal affairs department in Karadagskiy Rayon.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

8 Jan Notice on Crime Investigation

NC0801190189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation in the city is peaceful. The internal affairs and procurator's organs continue to take measures to bring to light the crimes that have been committed.

According to the Baku Gorispolkom internal affairs organization, Aliyev Radzhab (?Avshiyat Oglu), a deputy [words indistinct] affiliated with the Baku factory of the assembly-production union and [words indistinct] affiliated with the Baku production union [words indistinct] No 4, have been [words indistinct]. In an interethnic action, they demanded that (?Agadzhanyan) surrender his passport on electric train No 6040 on 3 December 1988. Later, they opened his suitcase and openly stole his allowance papers, valuables, and money.

Legal accounting and work carried out to maintain law and order are being broadened in the work collectives of the establishments and administrations in order to strengthen inter-ethnic relations among all the peoples of our country, (?including those of) Azerbaijan and Armenia, and to maintain and further develop fraternal relations.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

MVD Official on Ethnic Strife Investigations

PM0601115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with V. Novikov, chief of USSR MVD Main Investigation Administration, by own correspondent G. Alimov in Moscow: "Crimes Under Investigation in Armenia and Azerbaijan"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A special investigation and operations group of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and MVD has been working in Armenia since the beginning of December. Its aim is to to investigate crimes committed during the mass disturbances that occurred in late November and early December. V. Novikov, chief of the USSR MVD Main Investigation Administration who recently returned to Moscow, gave an interview to our correspondent.

[Alimov] Vasiliy Georgiyevich, you are one of the people charged with leading the investigation and operations group in Armenia. Is there a similar group operating in Azerbaijan?

[Novikov] Yes, and there is just as much work to be done there. A detailed investigation has to be carried out into very serious crimes committed on the basis of interethnic discord. Particularly in Kirovabad, Sheki, and Zakataly. These include murders, pogroms, rapes, destruction of citizens' personal property....

[Alimov] What specific tasks does the group have?

[Novikov] It was set up to ensure the complete and objective investigation of the facts of cases of violation of national and racial equality brought in the Armenian SSR and other cases arising out of interthnic relations. We have now received many statements from Azerbaijani refugees from Armenia regarding crimes committed against them on Armenian territory. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in many cases, this has yet to be done in others. We have also received a large number of statements from Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan. The investigation and operations groups in Armenia and Azerbaijan closely collaborate and coordinate their work.

[Alimov] The investigation and operations group was set up recently, but, as you know, the interethnic clashes began some while back. How did the law enforcement organs respond to these acts?

[Novikov] From February through 22 November organs of the Prosecutor's Office and MVD investigation and inquiry services in Armenia instituted 75 criminal cases regarding ethnically motivated crimes. Most of them have already been concluded. The culprits have been brought to book.

Since 22 November, when a new exacerbation of interethnic relations occurred, more than 70 criminal cases have been instituted: murders, robberies with violence, thefts, willful destruction of personal property, grievous bodily harm... The most dreadful thing is that many people were provoked into involvement in these criminal acts. We have to discover who exactly was behind these events and directly or indirectly inflamed passions.

[Alimov] You have been in Armenia a while. There has been time to analyze the situation. What is your personal opinion: Was everything done to avoid bloodshed?

[Novikov] Far from it, I think. Many people are to blame here, including workers in the internal affairs organs. In the extreme situation that arose some leaders at local level failed to control the situation, were passive, adopted a noninterventionist stance, and in some places aided and abetted unlawful acts. We will carefully investigate this. The culprits must be brought to account. Many have already been brought to account by the party

and dismissed from their posts. It was negligence regarding the performance of official duty that was responsible for the failure to prevent in time the disturbances in Gukarskiy Rayon, where eight Azerbaijanis were killed. Militia Colonel S. Abovyan, chief of the rayon internal affairs department there, and Senior Lieutenant A. Saakyan, his deputy in charge of political affairs, have been dismissed and material regarding the former has been sent to the republic Prosecutor's Office.

[Alimov] Does the investigation group feel it is supported by the local population?

[Novikov] Most people appreciate that those who have committed crimes must be brought to book. Although there are some who would like to stand aloof. But we hope that that they will realize their civic duty.

[Alimov] Is any work to expose corrupt elements being carried out?

[Novikov] Yes, it is. That is all I can say for the time being.

[Alimov] Who is in the investigation and operations group?

[Novikov] There are around 200 investigation and operations workers. They are on secondment from Russia, Belorussia, the Ukraine, and other republics. The group also has has quite a few staffers from the prosecutor's office and internal affairs organs of Armenia. They are all working selflessly. But it is particularly difficult for those carrying out their offical duty in the rayons that suffered from the earthquake.

[Alimov] Do you have figures for crimes committed for personal gain after the earthquake struck these rayons?

[Novikov] These crimes are being investigated by staffers of the Armenian internal affairs organs. According to their figures, 101 criminal cases, including thefts of state and personal property and vehicles and so forth, have been instituted. Thirty-five criminal cases have been concluded and sent for trial with indictments. Eighteen people have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

[Alimov] The investigation and operations group has, by all accounts, a lot of work ahead. When is it intended that the investigation will be completed, at least for the main group of criminal cases?

[Novikov] It will probably take 2-3 months. The situation we are up against is unprecedented. It requires competent, painstaking investigation. The law and the rule of law must triumph. That is why we are there.

MVD's Pankin on Armenia, Azerbaijan Crime

PM0601194789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 89 First Edition p 6

["Our Interview" with Militia Lieutenant General V.K. Pankin, chief of the USSR MVD Criminal Investigation Main Administration, by G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko: "We Are Performing Our Duty"—place, date of interview not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Vyacheslav Kirillovich, you have just returned from the Transcaucasus. What was your purpose there? Generally speaking, does the presence of a large number of central apparatus officers in that region indicate that a number of local internal affairs subdivisions have lost control of the situation?

[Pankin] I think that the word "presence" is not quite correct. A lot of hard work by professional investigators was involved. It was also difficult work, because we had the task of tracing criminals in unusual circumstances, when both professionalism and utmost tact were required.

Let me say this frankly: In the past it was the "official presence" of high-ranking ministry officials that brought local organs to a position where they found themselves incapable of solving by themselves the most urgent questions of the maintenance of law and order. But this is a preamble, as it were.... Now about the main point. It is well known that operational conditions became extremely complex as a result of the mass disorders in Azerbaijan and Armenia in November-December. Criminal actions increased to a dangerous level. In these conditions, local law enforcement organs in fact virtually lost control over the emerging crime-conducive situation and proved unprepared to act decisively in halting and promptly detecting crimes that had been committed. The available forces (both quantitatively and qualitatively) were inadequate to catch culprits redhanded, to inspect the sites of incidents, and to identify unlawful actions by persons fanning interethnic dissension. Therefore, the USSR MVD leadership decided to send officials from the central apparatus and other regions of the country to Azerbaijan and Armenia as reinforcements in order to assist local internal affairs organs in ensuring law and order and fully and comprehensively investigating crimes.

[Correspondent] What is your overall assessment of the crime situation in these regions? Will the real number of those who have lost their lives be published?

[Pankin] The situation in the region remains complex. Some 43 people have lost their lives in the two republics since November of last year alone (including those who offered active resistance to militia organs and the troops). Hundreds of people suffered bodily harm of differing gravity, and there were about 3,000 cases of pogroms and arson against administrative buildings, trade facilities, and citizens' homes.

It is well known that the mass disorders were halted pretty quickly with the help of military subunits and, on the surface, the situation appeared to have stabilized. Evidence was coming in every day, however, about previously committed pogroms, destruction of motor vehicles, and other crimes which had to be solved.

It is necessary to note that refugees alone reported more than 2,500 cases of robbery, theft, and bodily harm. The investigation of such cases is complicated by the time lost in tracing the evidence of crimes and identifying witnesses and eyewitnesses. The situation is rendered considerably more complex by the ongoing migration processes and the concentration of refugees. Nonetheless, it is under control. All reported crimes are under inquiry and investigation. At the same time, measures are being taken to prevent actions by individuals who instigate breaches of public order.

[Correspondent] It is well known that militia staffers, who were present while tragic incidents were taking place, failed to take any steps at all in many places. How can this be explained?

[Pankin] Indeed, instances of many militia staffers losing their heads or displaying passiveness were recorded in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Here is a typical point: Local staffers rarely suffered bodily harm compared with reinforcing personnel.

Quite a few victims bluntly testified that some representatives of local authority and militia organs, having succumbed to emotions, actually participated in the forceful eviction of citizens....

For example, Rural Soviet Chairman Arakelyan and other rayon-level officials took part in the eviction of Azerbaijanis from Shaumyan settlement in the Armenian SSR's Gugarkskiy Rayon. Cases like this are under investigation. The harshest of measures will be applied against persons who have violated their oath. Some 54 staffers of Shekinskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department in the Azerbaijan SSR and 17 staffers of the Gugarkskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department in the Armenian SSR have already been dismissed from the internal affairs organs for failing to fulfill their official duty to halt mass disturbances.

[Correspondent] Have you been able to establish, even if only indirectly, any link between corrupt elements, the criminal world, and leaders of nationalist groupings?

[Pankin] I would phrase this question differently: To what extent is the activity of nationalist leaders and of corrupt elements and criminals mutually advantageous? It—this advantage—is present. The investigation of a series of criminal cases proved that attempts to destroy compromising material and exert pressure on investigating organs were made in the course of organized attacks on the premises of administrative establishments in Sheki and Stepanakert. As for the criminal element, by which we mean people who have served sentences and have not taken the path of rehabilitation, any slackening of law and order suits them.

For example, I. Seynalov, nicknamed "Shantalo," who has been arrested and tried on several occasions and worked as manager of a tea room in the city of Zakataly, Azerbaijan SSR, transformed the public catering establishment into his private business, brought young people together there, and "brainwashed" them in a nationalist spirit. He systematically urged young people to commit crimes against the Armenian section of the population. Under his influence, a juvenile named Dadayev made a flag with Muslim symbols in the tea room and then carried it at the head of a crowd and later climbed on the rostrum during a rally. Together with other adolescents, he took part in pogroms and robberies.

[Correspondent] What work is being done to identify the criminals who have committed murder?

[Pankin] There have been 23 criminal cases instituted in connection with murders during the disturbances in Azerbaijan and Armenia (some of them involve several murders). Suspects have already been identified in 16 cases and proof of their guilt has been obtained.

[Correspondent] "Identified"—a somewhat general term....

[Pankin] Ten people have been arrested. An investigation operations group has been appointed for every case. Energetic investigation measures are being taken involving, let me say, considerable manpower and resources.

Everyone knows how much easier it is to solve crimes once you have a clear picture of the motives and the mutual relations between the sides which led to the conflict. Here we come up against motives which developed spontaneously, without any mercenary, domestic, or other common motives. In these circumstances, detainees attribute their crimes to interethnic dissension only later, during the investigation. Very often the murderer and his victim had never been in contact before. For example, 87-year-old Sadytov from Kalinino Settlement in the Armenian SSR fired more than 10 revolver shots into an excited crowd, after which he was stoned to death.... The actual atmosphere in which the work to solve the crimes is conducted has a number of its own specific features: Widespread perjury, refusal to give evidence, instances of extreme caution, and at times even resistance. Explanatory work has to be done here. For example, M. Tagiyev suffered bodily harm and died in the course of a group fight in Armenia's Sevanskiy Rayon. It was only after 10 days of painstaking investigative operations and explanatory work among the population that we succeeded in identifying the murderer—former convict Grigoryan. He is now under arrest.

[Correspondent] PRAVDA's mailbag shows that many people, initially blinded by the heat of passion, are beginning to realize not only that the crimes were senseless, but also that it is difficult to erase the shame of what happened....

[Pankin] Absolutely correct. No matter how paradoxical it might sound, it is a sense of profound shame for the assassination of three servicemen who strove to prevent bloodshed in Kirovabad that is now making it difficult to obtain testimony from witnesses. I will not give the names of the people guilty of this murder for obvious reasons.

[Correspondent] Staffers of the USSR MVD central apparatus, soldiers from Internal Troops subunits, and firemen displayed personal courage, valor, and staunchness in the earthquake region. What work was done by criminal investigation units in these regions in connection with cases of looting and robbery?

[Pankin] Criminal investigation units, in parallel with other MVD services, took part in the search for people, the clearance of rubble, and the prevention of embezzlement and theft from the very beginning of the post-disaster salvage work. Money and valuables worth R7 million, tens of thousands of drug ampoules, and weapons and ammunition have been taken away from destroyed savings banks, stores, and other institutions. Work has been done to identify 8,000 victims.

[Correspondent] Have they all been identified?

[Pankin] No, unfortunately there are still more than 300 unidentified bodies.

Our inspectors with specially trained tracker dogs also made their contribution to the search. They helped to find and rescue victims from the ruins and damaged buildings, to detain 57 individuals suspected of committing theft of state property and 258 law-breakers, and to discover and return to the state money and valuables worth more than R25,000.

Unfortunately, there were also people who strove to benefit from the misfortune of others and to take advantage of the prevailing conditions to get rich. Some 56 criminal cases were opened in Leninakan alone, and 48 of them have already been solved. The most frequent cases involved theft of state and private property and hijacking of transportation vehicles. In my view, however, it is very important to emphasize that they generate just one feeling among the Armenian people—a feeling of most profound scorn. Generally speaking, as our staffers remark, the misfortune which befell Armenia rallied honest people together and brought forth the people's lofty moral qualities—courage, industriousness, and compassion. We sense more and more people's support and trust, without which criminal investigation work is impossible.

Armenians, Azerbaijanis Urged To Reemigrate

LD0601223789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] The Central Committees of the Azerbaijani and Armenian Communist Parties and the governments of these republics have adopted a message to persons of both nationalities who have left their places of permanent residence. (Islam) Kuliyev, our own correspondent in Azerbaijan, reports.

[Kuliyev] Thousands of families, as a result of interethnic discord, who were subjected to panicky rumors, have abandoned their homes and removed themselves from the places they had lived for so long. The migration from Armenia and Azerbaijan has assumed immense proportions. As a result, unforseen difficulties have arisen in the localities. Thousands of Armenians need to be housed and fed, the children need schools, and the adults require work. And finally, each family needs peace and calm. Thus, as it is said in the message of the Central Committees of the Azerbaijani and Armenian Communist Parties and of the republican governments, the elemental force of interethnic passion must not be allowed to sway reason. The party and Soviet bodies in the two republics today will determine measures jointly so that the migrants may return to their homes as soon as possible. This is the topic of my conversation with Muslim Radzhabovich (Mamedov), first secretary of the Baku City Committee of the Azerbaijanian Communist Party.

[Begin (Mamedov) recording] Perhaps no person can be found today who has not suffered as a result of the disaster that befell Armenia and the Armenian people. The awful natural disaster forced people to conclude that as quickly as possible we must put an end to the abnormal living conditions in the two republics. Our people have been living together for centuries. They have much in common. There is food and music. There is comon grief, if you wish to know. You see, there are the marvellous pages of history, when our peoples long before the establishment of Soviet power, shoulder to shoulder, fought against foreign invaders. There is the clearest evidence of magnificent friendship between the outstanding representatives of our peoples.

Today extremists are trying to create a republic of a single nationality. Does this really constitute salvation? Do we not live in a united state? Does our strength not lie in this unity? Having created a republic of one nationality, can we really be calm? Will there really be no relations between us? Our strength is evidently not in confrontation, not in enmity, but indeed in unity and friendship. The November events led to an enormous migration [migratisiya]. It must be said that from February to today, about 160,000 Azerbaijanis have arrived in our republic from Armenia. Like the minister of education of the republic said recently, from the second half of November until the present, about 20,000 children of school age have been settled in schools. More

than 10,000 preschool aged children have arrived. To our great regret, about 2000 of them have been placed in kindergartens. Thousands of people remain without shelter, without housing, without work.

An opposite migration has also taken place. About 90,000 Armenians have left Azerbaijan. Party and Soviet organs and organizations of the Republic of Azerbaijan have carried out large scale organizational and political work to encourage these people to return, and I must say we have achieved a considerable amount in this regard. Up to today, about 15,000 Armenians have returned to Baku. They are immediately taking up their former jobs. I think that by our joint efforts we must bring the situation back to normal, we must achieve the situation in which each Azerbaijani and Armenian who was forced to leave his place of permanent residence returns as quickly as possible to his native home. [end recording]

Moldavian Policy on Right of Assembly Discussed

LD0901130489 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 24 Dec 88 p 3

[Text] A routine coordinating conference of the leading workers in the law enforcement bodies of the republic attended by a representative of the Kishinev gorispolkom has discussed the practice of applying the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 28 July 1988 "On the procedure for the organization and staging of assemblies, meetings, street marches and demonstrations in the USSR" and the decree of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 2 August 1988 "On liability for violating the prescribed procedure for the organization and staging of assemblies, meetings, street marches, and demonstrations." At the same time, the legal status of the activities of the unofficial associations which have arisen in a number of places were analyzed, and measures drawn up to further strengthen law and order and observance of the constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens.

It was noted that the legislative enactments which have been adopted and the work that has been done to explain and apply them are creating the conditions necessary for holding meetings, demonstrations, and other mass public gatherings within the law and without infringing anyone's rights and interests. A number of such events have taken place on the new legal basis in the capital and in several other settlements in the republic. As a rule, the necessary law and order has been ensured at these, which has been of greater concern not only to the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies and to the militia but also to the organizers and activists of the independent groupings.

Officers in the law enforcement bodies are displaying patience and restraint in conflict situations and are not taking a disrespectful attitude to those taking part in assemblies and meetings. At the same time, the prescribed measures have been used against those who violate law and order. Sixteen notifications of the prosecution of citizens for taking part in unauthorized meetings and not complying with the requirements of representatives of the authorities have been forwarded to the courts. Administrative proceedings have been instituted on nine of these, but only in one case has there been an arrest. Sixty students were taken to the police station for their identities to be established and statements on infringements to be compiled in connection with the attempted arbitrary staging of a demonstration on 17 November 1988, but it was deemed possible to limit the action taken in respect of the majority of the offenders to measures of social influence.

It was nevertheless established that there are considerable shortcomings and errors in this matter, the requirements of the legislation are frequently not fully implemented, and the knowledge of the law on the part of both the representatives of the authorities and of citizens is weak. The organizers of meetings and other mass events have at times presented documents not specifying all the requisites envisaged by the law, and attempts are frequently made to put pressure on the authorities in order to obtain a favorable decision by any means. Despite these infringements, the executive committees have agreed to meetings being staged. Leninskiy Raysipolkom, in one instance, denied the organizers of a meeting on far-fetched grounds. The decision was revoked.

It was deemed to be incorrect that the soviet executive committees at times limit their work only to issuing authorization for meetings or gatherings to be held and do not define the terms for the operation of transport, the use of communications, premises, and buildings, and law enforcement arrangements, and do not appoint specific individuals who are obliged to take control of the staging of one mass event or another.

A study of administrative cases has demonstrated that certain officers in the internal affairs bodies and the courts are taking an oversimplified attitude to recording the circumstances of infingements of the law, writing reports, ordinances and other documents in a careless way, which has in a number of cases entailed the groundless prosecution of citizens. Some ordinances have been deemed groundless and revoked at the initiative of the procuracy bodies and of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Court. Certain administrative proceedings have been halted because of the incorrect way they had been instituted.

An analysis of the situation, of letters, and other communications from citizens demonstrate that violations of the legislation on the staging of assemblies, meetings, marches, and demonstrations are still widespread, but many of the offenders have gone unpunished. When such events have been staged, participants have often made groundless, slanderous attacks and utterances of an extremist and nationalist nature. Recently threats against people who, in the press or at meetings, criticize

the views of the supporters of unofficial associations, have become more frequent. There have been attempts at holding illegal demonstrations and picketing party and local soviet establishments. Emissaries of unofficial associations are active in some settlements, enterprises, schools, and other establishments, using various means, including illegal means, by deceit and pressure, to collect signatures for their appeals and programs, which at times contain veiled calls to national discord. Even children are sometimes drawn into these acts. At the same time, local governing bodies, the leaders of enterprises and organizations, and the law enforcement bodies do not look into such illegal actions and do not put a stop to them.

The coordinating conference set all subordinate bodies the target of unconditionally implementing the requirements of the legislation regulating the procedure for exercising the above-mentioned rights and freedoms of the citizen and the activities of the unofficial associations. It was proposed that the infringements and shortcomings in the work of the law enforcement bodies which came to light during the discussion be eradicated. It was deemed essential to institute criminal proceedings and investigate statements by citizens concerning persecution and threats of reprisals to which they have been subjected for utterances and articles critical of unofficial associations and their supporters. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in the case of the detention of an inhabitant of the repubic who, according to information in our possession, was going abroad with material of an anti-Soviet, nationalistic, and slanderous nature. The Kishinev City Procuracy was instructed to consider statements which have been made about occurences promoting national discord.

Certain other aspects of the activities of the law enforcement bodies in fortifying legality in this area were also discussed.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Holds Session 7 Dec

PM0901120389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 1

[ETA "Information Report": "9th Session of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation"]

[Text] The 9th session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, continued its work at 1330 hours on 7 December. The session was chaired by V. Roosmaa, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. The debate on the question of the status of the state language in the Estonian SSR was continued.

N. Preyman, Yu. Aare, N. Ivanov, Kh. Konsap, V. Malkovskiy, Kh.-M. Koppel, T. Laak, and N. Mikheyeva spoke in the debate. To a question from Deputy S. Tarakanov, asking whether the draft Law on Language had received expert juridical appraisal at the Estonian SSR Ministry of Justice, Estonian SSR Justice Minister A. Kiris replied that the Estonian SSR Ministry of Justice had been involved in preparing the draft law. Deputy A. Almann, chief of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Soviets Department, answered a question from Deputy N. Ivanov about the making of amendments to the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and about the state language of the Lithuanian SSR. Deputy V. Koltakov took the floor to put a question and read out a telegram from the United Council of Labor Collectives to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session. Then A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke. On behalf of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, he submitted a proposal to adopt two documents on the question under discussion: the Law on Making Amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) and a resolution on the status of the state language in the Estonian SSR. Precisely 238 deputies voted for this proposal, 6 voted against it, and 10 abstained. The procedure for voting on the documents provoked a lively exchange of opinions. Deputies P. Panfilov, I. Taza, V. Malkovskiy, T. Laak, B. Moronov, and V. Vakht took the floor during the discussion.

By 197 votes to 56, with 2 abstentions, it was decided to conduct an open ballot.

The Estonian SSR Law on Making Amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution was adopted by 204 votes. Forty-nine deputies voted against, and 4 abstained.

Deputy V. Malkovskiy submitted his own version of this law. It was rejected by 141 votes, with 35 votes for it and 16 abstentions. Not all deputies considered it necessary to participate in the vote on that version.

The Estonian SSR resolution on the status of the state language was adopted with 324 votes for it. Ten deputies voted against it, and six abstained. The draft Estonian SSR Law on Language, which will be published in the press within the next few days, was also discussed.

The session was addressed by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, who briefed the deputies on the results of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held in the morning.

Then discussion of the next item on the agenda began—"On the Extraordinary 12th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session of 26 November 1988." A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered the report on this question.

Deputies T. Kork, L. Sirel, V. Chetvergov, L. Lentsman, T. Laak, V. Vakht, E. Savisaar, and R. Kirs spoke in the debate.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the Extraordinary 12th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session of 26 November 1988 was adopted by 200 votes to 18, with 15 abstentions.

M. Leosk, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered the report "On the Formation of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Interethnic Relations Commission and Changes to the Composition of Other Supreme Soviet Standing Commissions." Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolutions on the election of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Interethnic Questions Commission and changes to the composition of other Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions were adopted unanimously.

The Estonian SSR Law on Approving Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees and the Estonian SSR Law on Making Amendments to the Russian Text of the Estonian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) were adopted unanimously on the basis of the report of V. Vakht, secretary of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, answered a question from Deputy T. Kork about the essence of union republic and republic committees.

The question of extrajudicial mass repressions in Soviet Estonia during the forties and fifties was discussed as the last item on the agenda. Ya. Kirikal, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Court, delivered the report on this question.

The floor was taken by Deputies L. Aleksin, E. Savisaar, and E.-A. Sillari; Estonian SSR Prosecutor L. Urge; Deputies T. Laak, V. Poryvkin, Kh. Eller, and K. Kimmel; Estonian SSR Justice Minister A. Kiris; and Deputy R. Ristlaan.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Legislative Proposals Commission examined the additions and amendments to the draft Estonian SSR law on this question which were submitted during the debate. The results were made public by A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Estonian SSR Law on Extrajudicial Mass Repressions in Soviet Estonia During the Forties and Fifties was adopted without amendment, in the form in which the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium submitted it. Precisely 243 deputies voted for this decision, there were no votes against, and 2 deputies abstained.

The Estonian SSR Law on Making an Addition to the Estonian SSR Criminal Code was adopted unanimously.

The session chairman reported that many letters and telegrams had been sent to the session. A resolution was adopted whereby the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was entrusted with examining these letters and telegrams and adopting corresponding decisions on them.

With this, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session concluded its work.

Ukrainian Party Central Committee Draws Up Plans

AU0501160589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 29 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] At a routine session, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo defined major spheres of the Central Committee's activity in the first quarter of 1989. The main sphere in the activity planned by the Central Committee for the period will be to practically organize the implementation of the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and the CPSU Central Committee plenums regarding deepening restructuring, reforming the political system, democratizing party and public life, and increasing party influence on the adoption of new management methods and on the settlement of social problems. [passage omitted]

In anticipating a discussion at the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenums on problems concerning the party's agrarian policy at the present stage and improvements in inter-ethnic relations, provisions have been made for the thorough study and practical preparation of these problems for an examination at the plenums of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omit.ed]

The session examined the progress made in implementing the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee decisions "On the measures taken in the republic to implement the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January (1988) CPSU Central Committee in the field of nationality relations, and of intensifying the internationalist and patriotic education of the population." A report on the decision concerning this issue will be published in the press.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee examined the work performed by the republic's party committees to implement the decisions of the CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committees on restructuring in economic management. It was noted that, in line with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the directives of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, a great deal is being done to delineate the functions of party and administrative organs. [passage omitted]

Having examined problems concerning the supplies of livestock produce to the republic's population in the first quarter of 1989, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee for the most part accepted the volumes of supplies proposed by oblasts, and the deliveries to the union-republic stock of meat, milk, and eggs proposed by the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

Measures have been defined to comply with the critical remarks and proposals made at the December (1988) plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Ukraine Congratulations Belorussia on Anniversary
AU0901134689 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Dec 88 p 1

["To the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers send the Communists and all working people of Soviet Belorussia warm greetings and cordial congratulations on the great festive occasion—the 70th anniversary of the creation of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Communist Party of Belorussia.

At present, when the CPSU and our entire country are actively engaged in revolutionary restructuring, the Communists and working people of all nations and nationalities are again and again turning to the experience of great October and to V.I. Lenin's genius, and are drawing from this treasury strength and confidence in the rightness of our cause.

We have covered a difficult path. On this path, there have been heroic exploits and tragic losses. There have been indisputable achievements and unutilized opportunities offered by socialism. This is the area for explorers. Notwithstanding the difficulties and deformations, under Soviet rule all fraternal republics, lead by the Communist Party, have achieved indisputable successes in the construction of a new society, and in an historically brief period have advanced from backwardness to social progress.

It was precisely the October Revolution that had opened the road to justice and freedom. This is why, during the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet people with such persuasiveness manifested their moral strength, determination, and patriotism. We all with particular admiration regard the truly nationwide feat of the Belorussian working people in the struggle against the occupiers, and the republic's partisan glory.

Both here at home and abroad, the Belorussian SSR is well known as a republic possessing highly developed industry and agro-industrial complex, advanced science, and brilliant and original talents. We are glad that, notwithstanding all difficulties, restructuring in your republic is gathering speed. Positive processes in the economy are deepening, the socio-cultural sphere is strengthening, and democratization is growing stronger.

The people rightfully associate all these achievements with the activity of the republic's party organization that spearheads this work, persistently educates people in the spirit of devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and organizes them to accomplish the historic tasks of restructuring. We search for the ways to put into effect our plans, to qualitatively remake our entire life. The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference provide chances and guide lines for this purpose.

Like all Soviet people, the working people of the Ukrainian SSR particularly value friendship among the USSR peoples as a highly important achievement of socialism. We shall continue to strengthen it in our common toil, in concern for restructuring and socialism. Our strength and the guarantee of further victories lie only in unity.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish the Communists, the working people of Belorussia, new accomplishments on the path of communist creation.

[Signed] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

The city of Kiev.

Operations of Moscow Organized Crime Reported
PM0901121789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Report by TASS special correspondent L. Kislinskaya under the rubric "Anatomy of a Crime": "Tazepam on the Line"]

[Text] Moscow—He was a "common thief" in the old mold—covered in tattoos, with a gold tooth, and dressed in a quilted jacket. He had just been released from the labor colony and was traveling to the funeral of a "godfather" of organized crime. He had been somewhat delayed en route and so had arrived at his destination completely travel-stained and destitute. But this did not worry him. His former "associates" were expecting him here—they would take him in and help him. But when he came to the familiar address, he first thought that an embassy was now sited in the private house. Foreign cars from various countries were approaching the house and they included only a few Volgas of the latest model. Elegantly dressed people emerged from the cars. Only

when an elegant man, having muttered something scornfully at him through his teeth, came closer, did he realize he had come to the right address. It was simply that he was a stranger among his own people here.

This painting from nature was described with indignation by its main protagonist to the criminal investigation employees. But it did not surprise them—in the past 15 years, which the recidivist of the old school had spent in prison, the modern criminal has changed drastically, and not just outwardly. You can judge what thieves today are like from the recent cases at a new department of the Moscow criminal investigation. It specializes in combating dangerous manifestations of organized crime. And thefts from apartments are one of its unfailing attributes.

I shall not be original if I immediately begin my story about one group with its now traditional feature—the victims kept quiet. The reason was clear: a gamble was on so-called undeclared crimes. The thieves would clean out the apartments of people who were drawing unearned income. Both thieves and victims were united by the same sin. Both the former and the latter were born of the vices and the failings of their time. Now I shall try to illustrate this with the story of an organized group with interregional ties which succeeded in drawing an employee of the law enforcement organs into its activity.

The group can be called the "children of the Arbat"—after all, their life proceeded in precisely that part of Moscow. One of the group's members, A. Svyadosts, lived right there—on Vakhtangov street—and it was on his own street that he began to rob automobiles. A. Yudin, who was initially the sole leader of this "company," lived a little further away, but they were both united by the local cafes and restaurants—first the "Metelitsa" and then the "Labirint" and the "Arbatskiy." The people who spend a large part of their life here are called "the centrals" at the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department. How has it happened that on a street of the capital which is a favorite of Muscovites and visitors there is no virtually place for honest people? Walk down Kalinin Avenue and in all the cafes and restaurants you will see the familiar sign: "no seats." Or rather, there are seats, but they are reserved—traffickers, prostitutes, pimps, and pickpockets gather here. There is a lively exchange of business information and deals are concluded. And the girls work. For an appropriate fee, the waiters arrange the tables in a special way, forming so-called Japanese or Finnish "lines." The prostitutes who work for hard currency are put here. The appropriate "seating arrangements" are also made for those who work for rubles.

In this company Yudin was at home. Back in the early eighties he was a representative of the so-called "jeunesse doree," surrounded at home by numerous sculptures of the then head of state (the work of his sculptor father). Then he was in prison for hooliganism and parasitism. And now he was again in his native element—a "central" with the nickname "Tazepam." Together with Svyadosts, who was officially a floor cleaner at the "Oktyabr" movie theater, he began by stealing keys and documents from prostitutes' handbags and robbed the girls, whom they would greet pleasantly the next day in the same Arbat "public catering centers."

Both wanted serious work. But for that they needed a reliable driver with an automobile. So the company was joined by Muscovite V. Feldman who, on release from prison, could no longer be registered in the capital. But he lived here peacefully without registration and his affluent parents bought their son an automobile. And he engaged in private transport in another place of ill repute—the "Corner." Here, between the "Natsional" and "Inturist" hotels, he would drive hard-currency prostitutes around. One day he found himself in the house of a wealthy man who was very secretive about the source of his material wealth. This was a quite serious "tipoff" for an undeclared crime. It was committed together with the Arbat group, which by that time had been joined by several more people. For instance, they included one S. Shmakov, who had worked as a driver for the RSFSR deputy minister of culture. The group was also greatly assisted by an employee of the criminal investigation, whom the apartment thieves reached through Svyadosts. As a token of gratitude the latter "shopped" some drug addicts to him. Later, when the group was exposed, the corrupt militiaman was expelled from the law enforcement organs—but was not put on trial. It was difficult to prove his guilt since he himself had not taken part in the robberies. Nor had he been caught redhanded receiving money.

Yet meanwhile differences had developed in the group—the drunkard Yudin suited no one as leader. It was then that the leadership passed to I. Anisimov, whom Feldman had met at the labor colony. The new leader took charge of more subtle and bolder crimes. To commit them, he summoned V. Vinogradov, an old labor colony acquaintance, from Leningrad. After the crime had been committed, Vinogradov would go home with the loot and with the aid of his wife would sell the stolen items. Although, in fact, some items remained in Moscow and the mother of one of the group's members used them openly. It was no secret to her where her son had acquired them. And here we can observe once again a distortion of public awareness whereby other parents and indeed wives, knowing that their close ones were not working, were perfectly able to guess where they had gotten this money. Another interesting detail: Vinogradov committed crimes while having undertaken not to change his address without permission—he was already being investigated on a charge of robbery with violence.

The group operated. It stole and then sold an automobile belonging to a speculator in automobiles from Yuzhniy port. He tactfully kept quiet and bought himself a new and even better one. They cleaned out the apartments of several more bribers. The victims included one "central" prostitute who had already earned so much that she no

longer visited the "Arbatskiy." Her husband—a gold speculator—also had a substantial capital. As a rule, the Leningrader Vinogradov was the first to enter with a militia employee's identification card. He would hold a conversation on crime prevention with the victim and then tie here up and cover her with a rug—and then his acquaintances—Yudin, Svyadosts, and others—would come in. As a rule Anisimov took no personal part in the robberies. The girl who had been robbed experienced a big shock—to intimidate her the robbers killed her dog. And, as was to be expected, neither the girl nor her husband made any complaint to the militia. But the group was already under observation.

Naturally, the ordinary person may have a question, since both the apartment thieves and the racketeers whom the criminal investigation workers encountered operate on the "thieves stealing from thieves" principle; in that case, do we need to sound the alarm—just let them claw each other to pieces as much as they want? But that is a pernicious viewpoint.

"The apartment thefts committed by organized criminal groups, like racketeering, lead to the concentration of capital in the same hands," says Militia Lieutenant Colonel A. Gurov, department deputy chief of the USSR MVD All-Union Scientific Research Institute. "This promotes the even greater activation of the criminal process. After all, illegally obtained money can be used for any needs, from hiring an assassin to bribing officials. The results of a selective study carried out by our institute show that every fifth organized criminal group revealed by criminal investigation workers (only on the basis of the materials from criminal cases) had support among representatives of soviet and party organs, the court, prosecutor's office, and militia. An even more depressing picture is formed in the sphere of economic crimes. Here corruption can be found in every other group.

"The creation, in a number of subdivisions of the country's internal affairs ministries and internal affairs administrations, of specialized departments combating stable criminal groups is just the first blow against the mafia. The last, December, session of the USSR MVD collegium did not simply examine the question of combating stable groups but also outlined a number of specific measures to neutralize organized crime itself.

"But the following question arises in this connection. Why has it turned out that it is only the USSR MVD which must combat organized crime? The union prosecutor's office and the USSR Supreme Court and also party and soviet organs must approach this question more seriously.

"Nor is the position of those who are working out the foundations of new legislation entirely understandable. These foundations do not provide for criminal law measures for combating organized crime.

"We cannot leave the legal foundations and attitude toward this question at their former level. The result may be that the efforts of many qualified and devoted people will be to no avail. For instance, take the relevant subdivisions of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department. They specialize in eliminating tightly knit criminal groupings. Given the department's present potential and power and technical equipment, it is understandable that it cannot go too high. By virtue of its specific nature, it has to engage in purely "criminal matters," while in many respects, our organized crime is the result of economic blunders. So the result is that it is only the so-called "low cards" which are pulled out of the game. The kings remain free.

"To combat in earnest the phenomenon that is corruption, we need a powerful independent committee like those which operate in countries where great experience has already been accumulated in combating the mafia."

Aleksandr Ivanovich Gurov says this with considerable knowledge of the matter—he is now considered one of the leading scientific specialists in the field of organized crime. And the practical workers from the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department have experienced this for themselves. Anticipating somewhat, I shall say that as soon as the case of the Yudin-Anisimov group had been handed over to the court great pressure began to be brought to bear on the witnesses, victims, and judge. The associates of the accused knew everything that was said in the conference room of the court assessors. There was information about who had received money, and how much, for this, but they could not catch him redhanded. As is always the case, his patrons remained in the shadows.

What is promoting the emergence of this new form of group. Primarily, of course, the contingent which makes it possible to commit undeclared crimes—the "shop stewards" ["tsekhoviki"] and other dealers in the "shadow economy," bribers, traffickers, prostitutes, and speculators. Were it not for them, there would be no thieves of this kind. Second, of course, there is our weak legislative base, which in many respects lags behind the new negative trends. But there are also other complications.

"The main one," A. Yegorov, first deputy chief of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department, believes, "is the 'idle' articles in the RSFSR Criminal Code now in operation. The article on parasitism is now completely 'dead.'"

As for apartment thefts, here it is article 208—the purchase and sale of stolen property—which is "failing to work". By denying that they have bought items from thieves, those who buy stolen property remain in practice unpunished.

And while some people are arguing about whether there is organized crime in our country or not and whether it is possible to compare it with the Sicilian Mafia or whether that is blasphemy, the kings of the criminal world are leading their unjust dance. Alas, that is how it will be until people accept the proposals of the specialists—the scientists and competent practical workers. The times and life itself demand that.

Komsomol Chief Mironenko Talks on 'Complex State'
PM0601095189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Jan 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, by I. Korolkov under the rubric "Our Interlocutor": "V. Mironenko, First Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee: The Risk Remains, Because the Old Never Retreats Without a Fight"; date and place of interview not stated]

[Text] [Korolkov] We say today that the Komsomol must become an influential political force in society. But since the twenties a different opinion has been asserted: The Komsomol is just an instrument in the hands of the party. Between these two views of the youth union there lie not only decades—there lies a gulf in the view of man and his role in society.

[Mironenko] The Komsomol's transformation into a "nonparty organization" took place because its organizational independence, as V.I. Lenin understood it, did not form part of the concepts of social development which gradually prevailed after the death of Vladimir Ilyich. Today we are renouncing the administrative-edict system as an unsuitable system which has failed to justify itself economically, politically, or morally. We are turning to man with his urgent problems. We are entrusting him with the solution of his destiny and the country's destiny. Man's return to political processes is taking place. That is why the Komsomol today is being resurrected as a political organization.

[Korolkov] But the "driving belt" status has done its job?

[Mironenko] Of course. Unfortunately, we were not in the custom of seriously considering the opinion of the Komsomol Central Committee when compiling the draft plan for the country's socioeconomic development for the forthcoming period. Alas, this affects the majority of draft laws which are being elaborated. Far from all authors or organizations are displaying the desire to heed our viewpoint. But how is it possible correctly to understand and, moreover, correctly resolve questions of culture, medicine, education, and the economy, without considering the interests of the sociodemographic social group that is young people?

The elections of USSR people's deputies will take place in a few months and the Komsomol's task is to nominate its best representatives as delegates. To nominate people with a broad outlook, bold, real leaders who can worthily represent and defend young people's interests.

Under the conditions of the political reform the question of young people's real representation in the supreme organs of state power arises. We believe that this role should be fulfilled not by some newly emerged "ministry for youth affairs" but by a very democratic and representative organ capable of relying, in the rule-of-law state, exclusively on the force of the law. From our viewpoint it would be expedient to create a USSR Supreme Soviet youth affairs committee consisting of newly elected young deputies (and in this case young people's interests would be represented not only by Komsomol members).

I think that the creation of such a committee would open up before young people the opportunity to demonstrate to the full their responsibility for the country's destiny while the Komsomol could really declare itself as a real political force.

I made this proposal at the recent USSR Supreme Soviet session and I should like to count on its broad public support.

[Korolkov] People have grown accustomed to viewing the Komsomol primarily as a shock workforce. Young people have been sent to construction sites, to develop new territories. They have become something like a rapid deployment detachment geared to emergency circumstances. Of course, if the need arises specific aid must be rendered to the country. But it seems to me that reducing the organization's role to this alone is intolerable short-sightedness. The Komsomol's main task nonetheless lies elsewhere—in resolving not private but common problems. The drafting of a law on young people is perhaps the first example in the Komsomol's history of a union enjoying the right of legislative initiative and trying to act in precisely this way.

[Mironenko] This is an attempt to create a normative base for youth policy and on the other hand to resolve urgent questions. About 70 percent of society's social problems are youth problems, whether it is a case of kindergartens, housing, wages, or goods.

I shall touch on young people's wages. They are lower than the wages of older age groups. A young family most often is unable to make ends meet. You can see how difficult it is for a young man or woman to find his or her feet. They need an apartment, furniture, and clothing, and additional expenses occur with the birth of a child. Society must help young citizens with credits. And how many problems there are with young people's professional growth! That is the worth of a policy which ignored young people's interests. The future law on young people is in fact aimed at restoring social justice.

As for the solution of common problems, 3-4 years ago there could have been no talk of that. Today we are only beginning to work in the new way. But the Komsomol must change drastically for that. Its Central Committee must not issue ideas thought up by the apparatus (although I am resolutely opposed to putting all the blame on the apparatus, which has become virtually a fashion recently) but must formulate young people's fundamental interests. To express the will of millions, there should operate in the Komsomol the normal democratic process of comparing, pooling, let us say converting the interests of individuals, groups, and strata into common youth problems.

[Korolkov] The Komsomol today is experiencing a complex state. At the 20th Komsomol Congress the delegates assessed this state as critical. But the Komsomol also experienced a crisis when it had scarcely been formed. This was discussed at the third Russian Communist Youth Union Congress. What is the trouble? After all, it is obvious today that the Komsomol has proved unprepared to find its way and operate in the complex conditions of the aggravation of interethnic relations or in acute social situations.

[Mironenko] In my view there is one reason: The management apparatus' divorce from the primary organizations, the Komsomol's statisation, and its transformation into a kind of people's commissariat for youth affairs. The Komsomol's structure and functions took shape and were honed together with the entire administrative-edict system. It conscientiously played the role it was assigned. Note that the Komsomol's most important deeds coincide with tension in the history of society. As soon as the priority became the need to mobilize people, to gather them into a single fighting force, to enthrall them with an idea, and perhaps to compel them through the force of discipline to obey some decision, the Komsomol displayed its main quality—centralism. Today it can and must be used to promote the ideas of renewal, democratization, and glasnost. But we must be extremely cautious here. Otherwise the organization which abuses centralism is doomed. After all, the normal, natural, regime for its work is the democratic regime. And that is the second aspect of the Komsomol. It has remained in the shadows, we began to think about it seriously only 2-3 years ago. I will not venture to assert that if we emerge from the present crisis we will rid ourselves forever of the danger of bureaucracy! Because, in choosing democratic centralism, we choose at the same time the risk of delay caused by the apparatus. This must always be borne in mind when taking any decision. But life today is such that everyone has to learn. Time is already putting forward and will put forward new people. The youth environment is particularly sensitive to this, and the replacement of leaders is obviously inevitable in the Komsomol. It is not people of an executive mold but people who think independently who are being put forward, and they must be supported, otherwise young people will turn away from their committees, as has happened and is continuing to happen.

[Korolkov] But if experience has shown that centralism, which undoubtedly has its merits, is geared to the emergency situation, then now that society, tired of emergency conditions, is transferring to the footing of a normal life, is there any point in preserving such stringent centralization? The all-union meeting of political clubs voiced a seditious idea: creating a union of schoolchildren, a union of students, a union of workers, and so forth. After all, you will agree that it is impossible to control 36 million people, to perceive their interests, and to react promptly and precisely to them. And if you recall the title of Lenin's speech at the third Russian Communist Youth Union Congress, it was called "Tasks of the Youth Unions." I stress: the word "unions" in the plural.

[Mironenko] Lenin did not call his speech anything. In his speech Lenin spoke of the Russian Communist Youth Union as a single union. But I see nothing seditious in this way of putting the question. In a number of socialist countries there are several youth unions. The concept of a single youth union, from the viewpoint of its real political influence, is considerably weightier than, for instance, the proposed federate principle of uniting young people according to categories. That is not a theoretical premise. It is a reality of the international youth movement. Our trouble is that we continue to regard the Komsomol solely as a centralized structure. Yet it was initially very democratic. We are moving toward the point where the primary organization and the rayon are the most influential, most important echelon where all decisions are taken. It is there, in this cauldron, that all interests should be smelted. It is here, closer to life than anywhere, that opinions and ideas should clash. Students say one thing, workers another, kolkhoz members yet another. It is here that all decisions are elaborated. If you look at the Komsomol in this way I see no point in creating yet another vertical structure. I am a supporter of the existing system of internal relations, but with fundamental restructuring. With the utmost autonomy for all primary organizations. There is a question here, of course. Where is the guarantee that, in passing through every level, a grass-roots organization's decision will not be distorted, will not be emasculated. I think we are advancing to the point where in the Central Committee, instead of a number of departments, we should have working organs on social principles. For instance, a council of students consisting of the students themselves...

[Korolkov] ... who do not receive wages in the apparatus.

[Mironenko] Absolutely right. A group of vuzes or one educational establishment elects an organ and students combine work in the Komsomol Central Committee with study. I assure you that they will not elect just anyone to it. Only leaders—intelligent, strong-willed leaders who know how to argue and to defend common interests. The council could be given the right to send some of its people as delegates direct to the Komsomol Central Committee. The council would also have a small staff of the necessary technical workers. I am sure that if

we are speaking of the interests of the republic, the country, and all young people, we must democratize the existing union. If we succeed in resolving this complex task, the question of new unions will fall by the way. If we do not succeed in resolving it, the question will arise again and again. And I do not rule out the possibility that the concept you mention will prevail and several youth unions will arise. But I assure you that even if this does happen then someone will appear very soon and will say: But is it not in fact time for us to unite? But I have not yet heard even once a serious convincing explanation of the objective reasons requiring delimitation, if you discount assertions like "one is bad, many is good" or "the Komsomol is bad."

[Korolkov] In speaking of the Komsomol, we also inevitably touch today on the informal movement. It is giving rise to many disputes and is so far being treated very cautiously. For purely human reasons it may be supposed that you, the leader of the Komsomol, also welcome this movement with no particular enthusiasm.

[Mironenko] This was all unexpected. Unwonted. New. But for me much was determined to some extent at the political clubs' meeting. I asked myself: What is bad about young people arguing? The world has not collapsed. Something else has happened: Different opinions have clashed and the qualitative growth of thinking is inevitable in this clash. It is necessary to abandon the sticking of labels, whereby the word formal invariably implies dry, banal, and uninteresting and informal implies almost antisocialist or anti-Soviet. Such informal organizations probably do exist. But you cannot tar them all with the same brush. I do not see in the informal movement an alternative to the Komsomol—on condition that the Komsomol develops in the direction of democratization, glasnost, and the renunciation of excessive administration while the informal associations remain within the framework of socialist choice.

[Korolkov] It seems to me that despite the unabating criticism of the Komsomol changes have nonetheless begun in it. Particularly at the level of primary organizations and the rayon and city. I was struck by the fact that in Nizhniy Tagil the Komsomol Gorkom headed a meeting in defense of the city against industrial pollution. This is an absolutely new phenomenon in the Komsomol.

[Mironenko] On the one hand the informal associations have realized that you cannot resolve all problems through gatherings and meetings alone and they are seeking real ways of implementing their proposals. And on the other the "formal" organizations have closed their offices and gone out to meetings. People are not indifferent to what is happening in the city, the settlement, or the country. They are prepared to take part in resolving any questions: ecological, economic, legal, social. In this I see a chance for the Komsomol. To become what it should be.

[Korolkov] All that is so. But surely Komsomol members also have many unpleasant situatons when they go to a meeting. What sins are they not accused of.

[Mironenko] The old song. It used to be considered, and people have still not rid themselves of this belief even now, that to oppose a specific soviet or party leader who has sanctioned a stupid decision means opposing Soviet power or the party. Forgive me, these are different things. We have a party policy elaborated at the congress, at the conference, against which we check our actions. If Komsomol members were to go out to a meeting I would not be prepared to say immediately whether that was good or bad. We must investigate each specific instance to see why they were obliged to act in this way. Why did the other mechanisms which should have worked in this situation in fact not work? Only labels should not be stuck on immediately. A meeting is also a method of resolving questions. Albeit an extreme method.

[Korolkov] At a happy handyman's club a joke was heard which, it seems to me, very accurately reflected the principle of relations between party and Komsomol organs: Request to taxi, party! At his meeting with young people the general secretary urged the Komsomol to seek independence. But it is oh, so hard to return independence.

[Mironenko] It certainly is! For decades the administrative-edict system defended itself. It cut off variations and opposite opinions, considering its own opinion to be the only correct one. The situation in many places often took shape thus: They did not want to listen to a young man even if he was a member of the party raykom or deputy, even if he had interesting ideas.

Today it is time to take a stand. Of course this will require civic courage from every Komsomol member, especially from youth leaders. After all, the local organs of power have many methods of influencing a person's fate. I want to give my colleagues some advice. Before setting out any position anywhere it is essential to work it through and then the secretary will be setting out not only his own viewpoint but also that of the organ he represents. If he is convinced of it he should defend it. The risk remains? Of course. At a recent plenum we said: Defend the interests of society, restructuring, and young people boldly, without being afraid of any authorities. Always count on the support of the Komsomol Central Committee. But we did stipulate that we cannot give an insurance certificate for all life's events. In life there sometimes comes a moment when no one can help a man. He can consult only with his own conscience about how to act.

Contents of KOMMUNIST's First Issue Reviewed

PM0901151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Latest Edition of Journal"]

[Text] "Test of Durability"—that is the headline of the editorial in the first edition of the journal KOMMUNIST. The earthquake in Armenia tested the durability of

both apartment blocks and people. The spirit of the people and their courage and responsiveness in this common disaster stood the test in the hour of the tragic events. We must now ensure that reason, common sense, diligence, prudence, and responsibility, the editorial says, play their weighty part.

The section "Restructuring: Theory And Experience" opens with an article by A. Auzan "The Political Economy Of Socialism: Restructuring Raises Problems." S. Kolesnikov's commentary "Continuing Lessons" talks of some of the political results of 1988. A "roundtable" organized by the journal's editorial board together with Tatar CPSU Obkom, Naberezhnyye Chelny Gorispolkom, the Kama Truck Plant administration, and the interregional cooperative federation is devoted to pressing problems linked with the development of the cooperative movement.

Documents and live testimonies from contemporaries devoted to the memory of V.I. Lenin are collected together in the article "Man, Comrade, People's Leader."

Through V. Tishkov's article "The Peoples and the State" the journal continues the debate and discussion in preparation for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on how to improve interethnic relations in the USSR.

Yu. Sidorenko's article "Unabridged Social Dialectics" is devoted to the problems of elaborating a new integral theory for the development of socialism.

P. Bogomolov's article "Cuba: Sources of Change" published under the rubric "In the Countries of Socialism: Achievements, Problems, and Quests" is devoted to the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

Economic

IZVESTIYA Reports Wholesale Trade Conference

PM0601142189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "Distribute? No, Sell!"]

[Text] Wholesale trade in the means of production is designed to play a very important part in forming the socialist market. The problems of its development were recently examined at an all-union scientific and practical conference in Moscow. There was mention of what has been achieved. But questions also arose requiring specific replies and immediate solutions.

First question: Why, 2 years after the introduction of wholesale trade, are only 3 percent of the means of production sold by this method in the country?

The report delivered by L. Voronin, chairman of the USSR Gossnab, gave an impressive list of what has been done in this direction. In 1989 all consumers of Yakutiya, Tuva, Kamchatka, Sakhalin, and Magadan Oblast and the construction workers of Murmansk Oblast and Georgia and Azerbaijan will be transferred to wholesale trade in the main types of output.

But it is not even a question of whether a large or small quantity of the means of production is going on sale freely. It is more important to answer the question: On the basis of what principles is this trade built, is it not sliding back into the "ration book" system of distribution? What has wholesale trade given, if only to the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building, which was the first to begin the experiment? As is well known, the reverse process has been intensified here: Over a year stocks have increased 50 percent.

That is not surprising, for after all the mechanism for allocating resources has remained the same. You only have to refuse surplus resources and the next time you will not receive them in the same volume. Hence the passion for hoarding. First Deputy Minister A. Tarakin described the deformations which this sector has experienced under the conditions of wholesale trade. In January it was announced: Trade for yourselves, seek out partners. In April there was a new directive—there is a state order and centralized distribution will proceed under it; you can trade in what is left over. In June control figures appeared and a "stipulation" followed: Contracts for 1989 must be concluded at the 1988 level. And, finally, one last decision: Contracts should be concluded for 100 percent of the control figures.

The experience of individual regions, of Estonia in particular, has shown that a well-tuned wholesale trade mechanism makes it possible to satisfy requirements with fewer resources. Thus, in the first half of 1988, the volume of industrial production output increased 6.5 percent while total material stocks even declined 4 percent. Suppliers here work directly with the trusts. And here is what is interesting. The republic's Gossnab only had to assume in full the supply of establishments under construction with sanitary ware, pumps, ventilators, and linoleum and to satisfy requirements 100 percent for it to emerge that one-fourth fewer resources were needed. Yu. Rapoport, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Gossnab, voiced the following idea: The supply organizations should develop into commercial trading enterprises.

In general as of now we are the only country where the central material and technical supply organs directly control the sale of the means of production, being invested with administrative and managerial functions. In other countries at best the material and technical supply organs exercise control and issue recommendations.

Another thing: There should be no priorities in wholesale trade. The state order introduces such priorities, rending the fabric of the market. And although it is reduced overall it is immediately resurrected—either in the USSR Gosplan and USSR Gossnab products list or in the form of control figures. And what is compulsory ceases to be an element of trade and becomes an element of distribution.

Second question: Should we wait until the deficit has been eliminated or should we develop wholesale trade immediately?

An economy in which goods are in short supply cannot be effective in principle, Academician A. Aganbegyan said. Efficiency is the full satisfaction of public requirements. If there is a shortage there can be no question of this. But where does the shortage come from? Unfortunately, to a considerable extent we do not produce what the national economy needs.

We do not make the best use of "what is needed." In 1988 because of disruptions in material and technical supplies the enterprises of Moscow Oblast incurred losses of R15.2 million. An acute shortage for many items. But, analysis shows, an entirely surmountable shortage. The Moscow region produces 2.7 times more pottery sanitary ware, tiles, and slate than the region's estimated requirement. But under the distribution plan a large quantity vanishes from the oblast and about 150,000 items of pottery sanitary ware, 32 million square meters of facing tiles, and 100,000 standard slate tiles have to be brought in from other regions. Paint, emulsions, and much else is brought in from other regions.

Perhaps the key to the solution of the problem lies in interesting the producer in expanding the production of the output the national economy needs? In L. Voronin's opinion the award of a bonus for the 100 percent fulfillment of deliveries should be repealed. Under the

conditions of the directive plan this procedure was justified, but now that enterprises are forming their own programs independently, it pushes them toward adopting reduced plans. Of course, something can be "repealed." But incentives are also needed. V. Gorbunov, deputy chief of the USSR Gossnab Moscow Main territorial administration, suggested that the revenue obtained from commercial work be left at the disposal of the Gossnab organs. This will at least help to revive the intermediary activity of the suppliers.

Third question: What is preventing us from switching rapidly from the "ration book" distribution to a truly operational market in the means of production?

When going to the market, it is important for the consumer to know the deadlines and terms of the contracts which he can conclude, the size of the surcharges for small consignments, and much else. And the producer needs to know the current and long-term demand for his output and demands on the technical standard and quality. Do enterprises receive this information in the territorial organs of the USSR Gossnab? So far no. Transferring to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self financing in 1989, the territorial organs have found themselves on terms of equal responsibility with industrial enterprises for the end result. To make the fulfillment of any orders equally advantageous, a scale of differentiated surcharges for small, medium, and large consignments is being introduced. But that is still not a market. What then is a market?

Academician L. Abalkin, speaking toward the end of the conference, singled out three signs of market relations which taken together determine the existence of a market: first, direct ties between producers and consumers without, of course, the diktat of one side, that is equal relations of commercial partnership; second, the free choice of a partner in economic or commercial relations; and, third, economic competition for the consumer and his rubles.

One obstacle in the development of wholesale trade is monopolism in production. For too long we have created giant enterprises, seeing in this our merit and advantage. In the world it is considered that there is a monopoly if 30 percent of the market is in the same hands and antitrust legislation serves to overcome monopolism. But in our country there are many unprecedented instances when it is not simply a sector but an individual enterprise which has 100 percent of the union market in its hands. It is difficult to create a market without destroying a monopoly. In addition the market should be linked to the world market. This link is possible only with the full convertibility of our domestic currency. As we can see, the market functions only within a complex chain of interconnected links—both within the economic mechanism and outside it.

Is it possible to combine the plan and the market? Some specialists suggest dividing enterprises in such a way that some are made market enterprises while others are enterprises which fulfill a state order. A blatantly artificial approach. Another viewpoint proposes that the state guarantee the enterprise 70 percent of its income, letting the enterprise earn the rest on the market. I have frequently encountered situations where the sector headquarters—the head enterprise for the production of particular domestic machinery and instruments—has delayed the development of "interlopers." Yet the very same output, and not only output for the home, can be duplicated in several sectors at once.

R. Yevstegneyev, department chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System, expressed himself thus on this score: The problem cannot be resolved simply by expanding the dimensions of wholesale trade (on which the USSR Gossnab leaders place such hopes) even in combination with the expansion of the sphere of application of commercial prices. The consumer should have an alternative opportunity to acquire not only the means of production but also financial resources and various kinds of services, including manpower services.

Once we have to "build bridges" between our market and the world market, we will have to switch to world market prices. This will provide reliable guidelines in attaining a world standard of technology, quality, and prime cost for output. But let's try, also, to assess the degree of risk. The experience of the socialist countries shows that the lifting of restrictions on prices—without really operation competition—is a direct path to galloping inflation. What could price regulation be like? It would probably be sensible to establish temporary price increments for particularly scarce output, primarily output of low profitability. Not all output, of course, but that part of it produced over and above the plan. As for commercial prices, they could be set for output produced over and above state orders and contracts.

Unfortunately, the diktat of the producer is often also reflected in contract prices. Here the chase after high prices acquires a frankly shameless nature. Thus, in 1989 the Sverdlovsk current transformer plant will not produce units priced at R29. The profitability of these items was 9.5 percent, which seemed inadequate to the enterprise. Instead a unit of approximately the same merit, but costing R100 and with a profitability of over 40 percent is being put into production.

We have no dealers, that is people with a high degree of commercial skill, Academician L. Abalkin noted. We have not graduated from this school or we have long forgotten it. Completely different knowledge and skills from those we possess are needed today.

However that may be, we must develop the shoots of the socialist market more rapidly than cadres will mature. Ultimately we have to create a synthesis of planned

management and market regulation. The most radical and urgent measures should be taken in this direction, however great the economic risk.

Official Interviewed on Price Setting Measures

LD0801215489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee has examined a proposal from the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to eliminate deficiencies that have arisen in the practice of establishing prices. Here is an interview given to a state radio correspondent by Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices.

[Pavlov] Many of our citizens have repeatedly complained that enterprises take advantage of a change of name or categorization and similar approaches, or use various indices such as new, fashion, youth, and so on for things without changing the quality of the goods, that is, without changing any essential quality of the product. And to put it simply, they have raised the prices for these kinds of goods, and have thus, I would say, undeservedly gained extra income. By doing so they really hurt our population and damage the resolution of the task of enhancing the population's real incomes.

[Correspondent] How are you now going to hinder such a practice?

[Pavlov] We have suggested, and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has agreed—it has backed the government on this issue—that first of all from this year the many indices for consumer goods are being eliminated. We will stop using, ban the use of the index "N" [new], "M" [fashion], "L", "OM" [high fashion], and so on. That is, we keep only the index "N" for new product and the use of contract prices agreed between trade and industry for high fashion articles. In addition, we have considered it necessary to ban the application of any supplements and contract prices to goods for children and for elderly people that are marketed at socially low prices.

[Correspondent] The cooperatives are also involved in price formation.

[Pavlov] Yes, the cooperatives are also involved in price formation.

[Correspondent] They explain that raw materials prices for them are very high.

[Pavlov] Well, the composition of the measures includes in the first place the goal of ensuring equal opportunities for cooperatives in their being supplied with material and technical resources, on the same principles on which supply to state enterprises is implemented. Naturally, in this case what seems to us a legitimate condition is set: if the government settles the question of ensuring supplies on the same conditions and at the same prices for cooperatives as the state enterprises have, then correspondingly, the enterprises at which cooperatives have been formed, or those enterprises that hand out state orders to cooperatives, have the right to stipulate in contracts the return of output according to state prices.

Unfortunately, we have not yet resolved the question of taxation which was used as an additional instrument to counter price increases and would permit us to use economic methods to regulate these processes. Nevertheless, it would probably not be correct to wait until we settle these problems, and so we have taken the line of administrative regulation, that is, of setting limits for the level of prices for this or that product, first and foremost for public food service cooperatives.

Population Optimistic About Consumer Goods

LD0801132489 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] The drastic reform gaining momentum in this country has been changing the situation on the domestic market for the better. Such an opinion has been voiced by most of the 7,000 participants in a poll held in the Soviet Union. Those polled believe the shortage of consumer goods will be eliminated in the next few years.

Over the last 2 years their output has increased by 9.4 percent. However, the population's requirements have not been met so far in full.

Those interviewed expressed the view that the reform would help to streamline the economy and balance the supply and demand.

Resistance to Innovation Should Be Abandoned

PM0601164389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 1 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by Marina Pavlova-Silvanskaya under the rubric "Social Studies": "Boots Were Being Sold at the Institute..."]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The truth must be faced: Whether we like it or not, a considerable price will have to be paid for modernizing the economy. This work has dragged on too long. Naturally, no one wants to pay when the fault is someone else's: Some because they cannot tighten their belt any further, while others, a bit better off, refer to the past: We lived somehow, we'll survive, we'll adapt to things somehow. We won't survive, we won't adapt to things. The administrative system has two boundaries: the boundary of shortages and the boundary of applying extraeconomic (coercive, forcible) means. We have already reached the boundary of shortages, as testified by the empty shelves, the growing tendency for links to take the form of barter, and its Siamese twin—bribery—which leads to society's

moral breakdown. So now that everything is as clear as daylight, are we really going to hope for the second coming of a socialist Cavaignac, that is, a new Stalin?

Those people who resist the innovations that have come into our life with restructuring are doing so not only because they are confused by dogmas, not only because of conservative inclinations or social envy. A person who knows nothing about economics but who rails against cooperatives sometimes realizes intuitively better than any scholar in his ivory tower that some people make money literally out of thin air, and some of them "pan for" it. But the idea should be thought through: It is not a question of the cooperative movement as such, but of the logic of the administrative system with its eternal inseparable companion—shortages—of the logic that distorts and corrupts everything it touches.

I understand this inward opposition and to a certain extent I share it. In order to willingly agree to some kind of self-restraint, still more to serious material sacrifices, you have to trust the person who is going to conduct the painful operation on the economy. It is not enough for the "surgeon" to be sympathetic or even to show evidence of his personal honesty and decency. Complete confidence is needed in his professional skill guaranteeing that the operation will be successful, that it will not have to be repeated again and again, that it will cause minimum suffering, and that the burdens will be distributed more or less fairly. So when I read, for example, in IZVESTIYA an article about a "roundtable" whose participants develop the idea of the inevitability—in our present conditions—of a new radical agrarian reform designed to cut the umbilical cord connecting the lessee or farmer with the kolkhoz and sovkhoz, then I believe that something reasonable can be drawn from this—even if not immediately and even if with complications. A few days ago I heard a speech: In it the "dry residue" of all appeals to change production relations in order to boost the agrarian sector boils down to the contention that it is necessary to construct new plants and to organize the production of machines to process agricultural output at defense industry enterprises, where they have never taken costs into account or worried about prices. Such speeches are permeated with a "topsy-turvy" logic: "Why don't we send our specialists on prolonged training to the Pentagon? They can learn from them how to make sauerkraut!" To be serious, only one thing can be learned there (I do not mean the Pentagon or not primarily the Pentagon): how to behave in the market. But if you keep running around in circles repeating the intellectual formulas "it is necessary to ensure... " and "it is Communists' duty...," then it is better to save the people's money for another occasion. A politician who is accustomed to hacking away at things is not going to master economic neurosurgery. A scalpel placed in such hands will cheerfully make mincemeat of the national economy, you can be sure.

Trust is an ephemeral and transient substance. If you hesitate and waver, it will slip through your fingers irrevocably. As you know, N. Shmelev proposed the emergency import of consumer goods. One might agree with this idea, albeit with major reservations. The main one is that such a step is acceptable only as a means that might extend for a while confidence in economic policy. One might agree on condition that this time is spent on one thing alone: on finally overcoming the panicky doctrinal dogmatic horror of the market and finding professionals who, burying once and for all dreams of coupon-based distribution systems, would seriously get down to work to improve the delicate fabric of commodity-money relations.

Recently at a seminar I talked about short-, medium- and long-term prospects. The chairman added: "I think we only have short-term prospects." Alas, he is right. And the new year may make them even shorter.

Ukrainian Forum Held on Retail Price Increases

PM0601153089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by own correspondent S. Tsikora under the rubric "In the Republics' Governments": "Prices Put Under Control"]

[Text] A session of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium has discussed the increase of retail prices for many goods. It emerged that the virus of creative pricing [tsenotvorchestvo] has pervaded all levels of economic management—from enterprise to ministry.

Through prices the leaders of many enterprises and organizations are trying to ensure themselves a life without fuss and with sufficiency. The justification for contract prices for the output of 325 enterprises in the republic was recently checked. It turned out that one-third had taken more than they were supposed to....

People are angry, the session noted, when various increments—for newness, fashion, or improved quality—increase prices for output which is essentially no different from output produced before. The Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Prices has had to repeal increments and confiscate for the budget revenue nearly R1 million for the sale to the population of 250 types of goods that do not meet requirements for novelty, fashion, or improved quality. But how many of these goods have remained outside the control of the committee specialists, with customers continuing to pay too much for them?

The situation is even more alarming with regard to prices for agricultural output. Everything has become expensive, not only at the market. Some oblast agro-industrial complexes have started to engage in creative pricing even in those cases were they are forbidden to set their own prices. For instance, the Kharkov Oblast agro-industrial committee recently approved prices for citrus fruit which are 50 percent higher than existing state prices, prices for honey which are 20 percent higher, and prices

for haricot beans which are 100 percent higher. The illegally obtained revenue was confiscated, it is true, but that did not make things easier for the customers: It was no longer possible to return their money.

Among ministries the scale of creative pricing is still broader. For instance, the enterprises of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Light Industry, solely through price increments for output with the "N" [new] index and through the application of contract prices, obtained R412 million from the population which went toward its plan in 1987 and in 1988 this figure was in excess of R0.5 billion.

We are put on our guard by the fact that the excitement of the chase after money has already reached the spiritual sphere. The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and the republic's State Committee for Prices have been inundated with a flood of requests to increase prices for shows and exhibitions and for entry to museums. For instance, without any creative anguish the Kiev opera moved another theater's ballet to its own stage and without a trace of embarrassment, supported by the ministry, asked the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Prices for permission to increase the cost of tickets to all premieres. The applicants were not even embarrassed by the fact that some of the costumes worn for the premiere by the performers had been borrowed from other shows. Yet the theater already receives a subsidy of R2,746,000 a year for creating shows to a high "academy standard" of artistic performance.

What does the republic's Council of Ministers propose for countering this negative trend in economic and spiritual life? Not only the personal responsibility of ministers for the retail prices policy in their sectors—whether prices have been unjustifiably increased ministers have not avoided punishment.

But it is virtually impossible to eliminate the deficit in a year or two—and it is the deficit which above all encourages the rise in prices. At the same time it is precisely now that we must prevent an increase in the cost of goods and services. That is why the majority of ministers who spoke at the session agreed that it is essential to introduce the maximum permissible prices. They will operate for a while until the sectors' technical potential grows and the market deficit is eliminated. The maximum permissible prices should be introduced primarily for output of agriculture and the light and wood processing industries.

Not all these questions are within the republic's competence. That is why the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has decided to prepare proposals for examination at union level.

Agricultural

Ligachev Meets Ryazan Oblast Lease-Contractors

LD0301221589 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 3 January in its "Vremya" newscast carries a video report on the visit of Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev to Ryazan Oblast. Correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn speaks with farmers of the Avangard Kolkhoz about how the farm has lived up to its name. Ligachev speaks to officials and farmers in the offices of the board.

Ligachev says, "You have the land here and its valuable assets, both economic and natural. You have the appropriate indices, you have a certain expenditure and income. You have a purchase-price level. In accordance with this you are able to fix agreed prices with the tenants."

Ligachev meets a family of livestock farmers who have leased 135 cows and 80 calves from the farm. He says, "So you have been leasing for 3 months? I sense that things are going quite well for you."

The farmer says they are. Ligachev says, "Don't you have any thoughts, perhaps, of leaving the kolkhoz and setting up a separate holding, or only within the framework of a kolkhoz or sovkhoz?

The farmer says no. Ligachev says, "Well, comrades, that's a principled answer for you, a principled answer. I congratulate you, and I thank you for your initiative and your sense of innovation, for the fact that you have set out on the road of lease-contracting, and for the fact that you have decided to let everything develop within the framework of the kolkhoz. We congratulate you most heartily and wish you success. We are certain that lease-contracting will enable us to solve many problems."

Ligachev then meets the work force and says, "The thing that greatly pleased me here was that although only 2 or 3 working days have passed we have encountered here a fine, intensive labor rhythm. The year has started here without any hold-up or shortcomings. I sensed here that not a day or an hour is underestimated."

Addresses Ryazan Aktiv

LD0501222989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Comrade Ligachev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, was in Ryazan Oblast from 2 to 5 January. In his meetings at work collectives and in his conversations with townspeople and rural inhabitants he discussed the the implementation of the Food Program. Discernible improvements were noted in the development of the oblast's agro-industrial complex. At the same time, addressing the party aktiv Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev emphasized that as yet there has been no radical breakthrough in supplying foodstuffs for the oblast's population. The CPSU Central Committee secretary drew attention to the need to implement the entire complex of measures to increase land fertility and more, to broadly master intensive technology in crop farming. It is very important to get to work strengthening the feed base.

Comrade Ligachev spoke of the fact that it is necessary to change the attitude of local soviet bodies and economic managers to the development of subsidiary holdings. There ought to be a more energetic engagement in the processing industry. Much attention was paid to mastering economic methods of management, going over to full financial autonomy, and self-financing and organizing production on the constract, joint work, and leasing principles. The central place in the work of local soviet and economic bodies should be taken up by the creation of optimum living conditions in the countryside.

Comrade Ligachev visited the Avangard Kolkhoz, the Moskovskiy Sovkhoz, and a vocational technical school sovkhoz. He also visited Ryazan diary combine, a market, food shops, cafeterias, and a kindergarten. At Ryazselmash association there was a conversation with specialists and workers.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary toured historical and cultural monuments in the town and oblast. At the obkom there was a meeting with journalists of central and local information media.

Scientific

Tokamak-15 Thermonuclear Unit Starts Up

PM0601150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[IZVESTIYA scientific observer B. Konovalov report: "Earthly Star. Ceremonial Inauguration of Soviet Tokamak-15 Thermonuclear Installation"]

[Text] Physicists with a knowledge of controlled thermonuclear reactions at first hoped that the problem would be solved rapidly, but, alas, it has proved the most complex and difficult in the science of the 20th century. One can say with confidence that the ultimate goal—the creation of a thermonuclear power station—will only be achieved in the 21st century.

That is why scientists record every major stage on this long and difficult road as a cause for celebration. The creation of the Tokamak-15 installation was just such a stage for Soviet physicists. When it reaches its design performance our scientists will get the chance to carry out thermonuclear research in the most advanced area of this field of science and technology. The Tokamak-15 will be one of the largest and most sophisticated modern thermonuclear installations.

There were very many people at the ceremony to mark the physical start-up of Tokamak-15, which was held on the evening of 28 December at the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, although it was basically only those involved in the installation's creation who were present. It would be more accurate to describe it as a complex because it is housed in several buildings. Its weight—1,500 tonnes—gives the best indication of its scale. Moreover, it's not merely a question of tonnage but of the supreme achievements of many sectors.

The heart and "soul" of the new thermonuclear installation is its superconducting magnetic system. This is based on niobium—a compound of tin—the most promising of the so-called low-temperature superconductors. This intermetallic compound is reminiscent of glass in terms of its frangibility. If this material is struck with a hammer, it immediately turns to dust. Nevertheless it has been possible to manufacture cables from it for winding magnetic coils.

This "cable" is a most complex system. Some 150,000 superconducting fibers are laid in a solid copper matrix. Each one is one-tenth the thickness of a human hair. There are two circular channels here through which liquid helium circulates, cooling the entire "cable" to a temperature approximately 5 degrees above absolute zero. The current flows without loss and a powerful magnetic field is created. Moreover, this is a quite stable state. It is the first time that a technology using niobium—a compound of tin—on such a large scale (the superconducting system weighs 100 tonnes) has been applied in world practice. The new thermonuclear installation has been constructed from just such supreme achievements on the part of many branches of science and technology.

Academician B. Kadomtsev compared it at the meeting with an organ in whose creation the art of many people and organizations from the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries has been interwoven. Physicists now have to learn to "play" this organ and create scientific symphonies.

"We will use only pure hydrogen plasma in this installation," Academician B. Kadomtsev told me, "in order not to generate a powerful flow of neutrons. The temperature of the plasma will be approximately 100 million degrees, and the density is sufficient to maintain a stable thermonuclear reaction from the fusion of hydrogen nuclei. The task is to learn to control the plasma as the working medium of a future thermonuclear reactor. Tokamak-15 is the last prereactor stage."

"What will be the next step?"

"A reactor that will be used to work out questions of nuclear technology linked with the use of tritium and a series of ecological safety measures for future thermonuclear power stations."

"That's not only our problem but one that affects all mankind...."

"Yes. The next step will, clearly, be an international one. Design work has begun on an international experimental thermonuclear reactor—IETR for short—under the auspices of the IAEA. The USSR, the United States, Japan, and the West European countries' Euratom organization are involved in the cooperation. An outline draft will be made in 1989-1990 and the technical design work will be carried out in 1991-1995. If everything proceeds normally, construction may begin in 1996. The IETR should demonstrate the reactor's operational capability and the potential for obtaining electricity. After this it will already be possible to create a thermonuclear reactor that will produce more power than it consumes. Then a succession of commercial thermonuclear power stations will follow.

Finnish Cooperation in Phobos Project Discussed

LD0601181289 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—The international expedition to Phobos, a Martian moon, several projects in the field of near-terrestrial plasma exploration, remote sounding of the Baltic Sea and Arctic areas with the aid of Soviet satellites are the key directions of Soviet-Finnish cooperation in space exploration. They were discussed at a three-day session of the working group on Scientific and Technical Cooperation in Space Exploration which ended in Moscow today.

Vyacheslav Balebanov, director of the Space Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said that the inter-governmental agreement on cooperation in this area, which has been in force since January 1987, laid down the organisational foundation for joint work. Finland took part in developing several scientific instruments installed in the orbiter Phobos which should enter near-Martian orbit late this month. One of the most interesting experiments which was prepared with Finland's participation was laser ionic sounding of Phobos' surface. This will be the first experiment of its kind in planetary research.

Several more international projects involving Finland are planned to be carried out in the next few years, according to Balebanov. The launch of a satellite carrying an electromagnetic generator (the project Aktivny) is scheduled for the next year. Plasma oscillations triggered by it model plasma processes occurring in the earth's magnetosphere under the impact of the solar energy flux.

Exposing the magnetosphere to the charged particle flux is planned under the project Apeks. Finland's possible participation in the development of devices for the space observatories Spektr-Roentgen-Gamma and Spektr-UF and others is under consideration. Negotiations are conducted on Finland's involvement in the Soviet programme for Mars exploration in 1994. At issue is the development of miniature meteorological stations which will study for a long time the parameters of the Martian atmosphere.

"We are particularly interested in cooperation in remote sounding of the earth from space," said Erkki Jatilla, general director of the Finnish Meteorological Institute. "The measurement of ice cover thickness, for instance, helps make navigation easier and reduce costs. Monitoring the state of forests is also of immense importance", he said.

It is planned jointly to scan the Baltic Sea waters from the Soviet satellite Okean in February-March and in the run up to the start of the Finnish Arctic expedition to probe areas of interest to it.

'Mir' Crew Studies Exoatmospheric Astronomy

LD0601123189 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—TASS coprrespondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov wind up the next week of work in space abroad the orbital complex Mir.

The programme of the crew's work in last days made emphasis on the study of exoatmospheric astronomy.

The cosmonauts performed several series of experiments using the telescope Glazar. On January 4 and 5 their cameras were focused on ultra-violet radiation sources in Augira and Cassiopeia constellations and today they will photograph separate areas of Carina constellation.

The exploration of the supernova in the Great Magellanic Cloud is continued under the international programme "Roentgen". The recent observations of this unique astrophysical object have as their goal to obtain information about the evolution of its radiation spectrum. Scientists are interested in what had formed during the supernova explosion—roentgen pulsar, a neutron star or a black hole.

Today the cosmonauts will also conduct several medico-biological experiments and mandatory set of exercises with the training simulator.

The flight is proceeding normally. Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov are in good health and feel well.

Military

Chervov Says Military Budget To Be Reduced

LD0601181089 Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] The speech Mikhail Gorbachev made at the United Nations on 7 December has remained in the focus of world public attention. No wonder: The Soviet leader announced a unilateral reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces by half a million men. At the same time the Soviet Union is to slash tanks, artillery systems, and combat aircraft. The Soviet Armed Forces are assuming a defensive character. Will the reduction of army and armaments lead to a reduction in the Soviet military budget? We have taken the question to (?a) chief of the General Headquarters of the Soviet Armed Forces, Colonel General Nikolay Chervov.

I repeatedly told Western audiences that within a couple of years we will make public the structure of our military budget, he said. We have some difficulty spelling out the budget because market prices haven't yet shaped in this country. It differs from the military budget of the United States and those of the other NATO countries. The official worth of the Soviet military budget is R20 billion. But let's see what kind of budget it is. It is the Defense Ministry's budget, intended to support the personnel. That's what the 20 billion boil down to. As for arms and military equipment, they are taken into account in any but the Defense Ministry's articles. [sentence as heard] When we balance the national budget, Gen Chervov said, including the military budget, in market prices, then we will be able to compare it with the other nations' military spendings. But, anyway, both the reduction of medium- and shorter-range missiles under the Soviet-American treaty and the large-scale reduction of conventional arms and armed forces that Mikhail Gorbachev made public at the U.N. will undoubtedly slash this country's military budget. Mind you, the budget of the nation, not the Defense Ministry's budget. As a matter of fact, this is one of the aims of the reduction.

We not only take an interest in scaling down armed confrontation or reducing the war threat, though this is probably the main thing. But we also admit we need money to carry out the grandiose economic programs that the restructuring envisages. That's why the question of whether the reduction of army and armaments will lead to a reduction in the Soviet military budget must get a clearcut answer if the unilateral Soviet action will ensure visible reduction in the national military budget within the few years to come, said Col Gen Nikolay Chervov.

Lushev Attends Transbaykal MD Party Conference

PM0901095789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[Lieutenant Colonel I. Kushelev report under general heading "Party Conferences"]

[Text] The main theme of the principled discussion held by Communists at the Transbaykal Military District party conference was an analysis of the first results of restructuring in military collectives. The main report was delivered by Major General N. Rybolovkin, first deputy chief of the district political directorate.

The conference was addressed by Army General P. Lushev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR first deputy defense minister.

The conference was attended by N. Malkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Chita party obkom; A. Belyakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Buryat party obkom; A. Saltykov, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee; and S. Buldayev, chairman of the Buryat ASSR Council of Ministers.

Belorussian Military District Party Conference

PM0901094989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Prilipko report under general heading "Party Conferences"]

[Text] The Belorussian Military District party conference was devoted to deepening the restructuring of party work and ensuring a radical improvement in the training of troops and the strengthening of discipline and law and order in light of the political aims set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. The report was delivered by Lieutenant General N. Boyko, member of the Military Council and chief of the district political directorate.

The conference was attended by Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; N. Igrukov, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; N. Shlyaga, chief of a sector of a CPSU Central Committee Department; and senior officials of local party and soviet organs.